HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Heavy Cuts Possible

Nixon Foreign Aid Plan in Trouble

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

President Nixon's $2.7-billion foreign
d program is encountering serious bi-
rtisan opposition in the House Foreign
ffairs Committee.

It appears highly doubtful the com-
ittee will approve anywhere near that
nount. In fact, the indications are the
esident will be lucky if he gets $1.75
lion—the total Congress voted for
reign aid last year.

Significantly indicative of his adverse
ntiment is the pronounced disapproval
ing evinced toward the Overseas
ivate Investment Corporation (OPIC)—
e $100-million government corporation
e President proposes to establish to
omote and ensure investments abroad.

In the committee hearings now in
rogress on the foreign aid budget,
PIC has been assailed by both Repub-
can and Democratic committeemen as
window dressing" and a "sop to save
he foreign aid program."

John Hannah, new foreign aid director,
aced a barrage of critical questions
n OPIC in his appearance before the
ommittee.

Illustrative were the tart comments
f Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), long-
ime outspoken opponent of large-scale
oreign aid spending. The veteran econ-
my advocate caustically assailed the
President's $2.7-billion budget as exor-
itant and unwarranted in view of domes-
ic conditions.

"With the federal debt at around $375 billion, requiring the appropriation of more than $17 billion this year just to pay the interest on the debt," thundered Gross, "with inflation chewing up the dollar and the citizens of our country faced with continuation of the 10 per cent federal surtax, I am utterly amazed that demand should be made for another multi-billion-dollar foreign give-away program.

"Coming here and asking for a con-
inuation of this kind of foreign hand-out spending is comparable to raiding the pockets of American taxpayers. If this could be put to the vote of the people, I haven't the slightest doubt it would be sunk without a trace. We have lavished $172 billion in aid to foreign countries, and I know of none that would come to our assistance if we get into a crisis here at home."

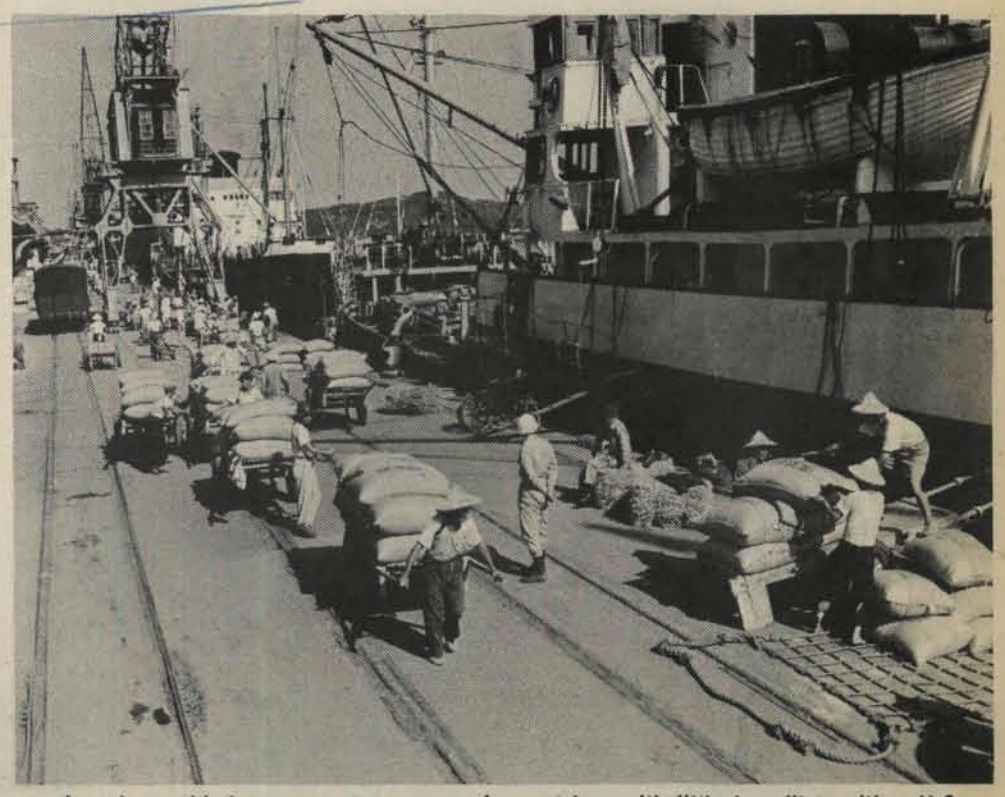
Pointing out President Nixon had announced he would name a special commission to study and report on foreign aid next year, Rep. Gross demanded of Director Hannah, "why not

Veteran economy advocate Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) promises to do his best to cut back foreign aid spending.

wait until then before establishing OPIC?"

"After all," declared Gross, "this commission might not think this was such a good idea after all. Personally, I consider OPIC as window dressing; a device to save a program that is fast going down the drain; a scheme to give foreign aid some sex appeal. What's the hurry; why the rush? Wouldn't it be well to wait until this presidential commission reports?"

Hannah argued it is important to launch OPIC in order to give foreign aid a "new direction."



American aid has gone to scores of countries, with little benefit to either U.S. foreign policy or the beleaguered taxpayer.

The AID chief contended this idea was not new; that it had been proposed in previous years; and expressed the conviction it would be recommended by the presidential commission.

"As the President indicated in his message," said Hannah, "it is his conviction that one of the directions the aid program has to travel is to encourage private investments in developing countries. It is essential to put more emphasis on technical assistance to a degree beyond what is now being done.

"The Administration is thoroughly convinced the proposed study group will recommend the establishment of an agency to promote private investments abroad. We feel very strongly that OPIC will contribute materially toward a more stable environment for all of us to live in."

Gross remained unconvinced.

"We cannot police and finance the world interminably," he declared firmly. "Immense as our resources are, the fact remains that we do not have the capacity to keep on spending as we have been doing endlessly. It just cannot be done and the citizens of our country won't stand for it."

That attitude was heartily endorsed by other members of the committee.

The hearings on the foreign aid budget will continue until the middle of July, after which the committee will begin the detailed process of "writing up" the provisions of the measure. That is likely to take several more weeks.

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NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● Despite last-minute aid to Mayor **John Lindsay** from Cabinet officials, Human Events can authoritatively report that President Nixon had called for his Administration to remain "strictly neutral" in New York's GOP mayoralty primary. Stories that Herb Klein, the President's director of communications, asked Lindsay confidant Herbert Brownell to draw up a "shopping list" of federal projects that the mayor wanted are known to be erroneous. Kelin has categorically denied the allegation and independent investigation reveals such reports to be made out of whole cloth.

● The United Nation's International Children's Fund—**UNICEF**—will shortly begin negotiations to inaugurate an aid program for children in North Viet Nam, marking the world body's first official contact with the Hanoi Communist regime. Discussions will be carried out by a UNICEF vice president, Dr. Boguslav Kozusznik of Poland. UNICEF, which receives a majority of its funding from the United States, will make use of a $105,000 contribution from the Netherlands to inaugurate the North Viet Nam project.

● Gov. **Ronald Reagan** continues to enjoy the confidence of California's voters. With the governor lending his vigorous support, Republican Robert G. Wood won a bitter contest last week in the 34th Assembly District in Monterey, thus assuring GOP control of the lower legislature. Wood's victory made it the third straight win for Republicans this year.

● The Pentagon's director of security, **Joseph J. Liebling,** a Democratic holdover, is expected to come under critical fire from House lawmakers because of certain security practices in the Defense Department. Liebling was a target of the House Committee on Un-American Activities last year because of his seemingly lackadaisacal attitude toward security screening and his defense of the DOD's grant of a secret clearance to a man connected with several Communist-front organizations.

● Rep. **Adam Clayton Powell** (D.-N.Y.) has stirred new controversy, despite the Supreme Court's decision last week to declare his exclusion from his seat in the 90th Congress as unconstitutional. Powell drew additional angry fire from lawmakers when it was discovered that he had made full-time Howard University Prof. Herbert O. Reid Sr., one of his attorneys in his case against Congress, administrative assistant on his tax-paid congressional staff at an annual salary of more than $14,000 a year. Rep. John Rhodes (R.-Ariz.), chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, charged that "it is a pretty obvious attempt to finance personal business through the public payroll." While Reid claims he's only doing public business for Powell, many wonder how he can simultaneously serve Powell and be a full-time professor.

● The Soviet Union last year purchased more than **3,100 moon pictures** from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)—photographs better than any the Russians were able to take with their unmanned lunar spaceships. These pictures, according to NASA expert Pitt G. Thome, are being used by the Soviets to pick sites for moon landings and possibly to select locations for permanent manned lunar bases.

● The night before the June 12 Harvard commencement, members of the college chapter of **Students for a Democratic Society** and other radicals were debating tactics for their planned walk-out from the exercises. After two hours a few yawning individuals began to leave. "Don't go," the chairman, himself a little weary of thoughtfulness, called after them. "It's very rude for people to get up and leave when someone's in mid-sentence."

● The most recent Gallup poll indicates that over half the nation's population believes the **Supreme Court's performance** has been something less than "good." Thirty-one per cent of those polled gave the court a "fair" rating and 23 per cent gave it a flat-out "poor" rating; only 8 per cent thought the court did "excellent" work, 35 per cent said "good" and 13 per cent couldn't make up their minds. Interpreting the results, Mr. Gallup said a major factor behind the decline in the court's esteem was "the growing feeling that the court is 'too soft' on criminals."

● Opponents of the proposed **anti-ballistic missile system** claim they like to document their "case against" with considerable scientific support. Thus last week Senators Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) and former solon Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) disappointed their allies when they had to call off a news conference to reveal new reasons why we should all oppose the Safeguard. The United Press International newswire told the story: "Correspondents: The Goodell-Tydings-Clark ABM news conference scheduled for 11 a.m. has been cancelled. Shirley MacLaine could not make it."

● **Idar Rimestad,** the State Department's chief official in charge of personnel, is expected to be "kicked upstairs" shortly to a United Nations post. Rimestad, another Democratic holdover, has been blamed for blocking a number of good Republicans from getting department posts.

● Now that 33 of the required 34 state legislatures have passed resolutions calling for a new **constitutional convention,** Congress is beginning to wake up to the possibility that such a conclave—the first since 1787—just might take place. Last week, the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Separation of Powers reported out a bill to establish how such a convention would be called and what the rules of procedure would be. Explaining the need for such a bill, Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), its author, said, "The final petitions could come at any time."

● The **National Brewing Co.** of Baltimore, Md., was fined $7,500 last week after its attorneys admitted the corporation had illegally channelled $5,000 into the 1964 senatorial campaign of Pierre Salinger.

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New York Mayoralty Contest

• Impact of Lindsay Defeat

In the wake of municipal elections in Los Angeles and Minneapolis, the outcome of the New York mayoralty primary last week seemed more than most liberals could bear. But bear it they had to. The trend across the country was now unmistakably clear: conservatism, with a special emphasis on law and order, is the popular platform that produces the votes in the urban areas.

The New York contests were particularly galling to the liberals. Not only had Mario Procaccino, the weeping Italian who cried for safety in the streets, managed to take the Democratic mayoralty primary against such certified liberals as ex-Mayor Robert Wagner and Bronx Borough President Herman Badillo, but the golden boy of liberalism, John Vliet Lindsay, had been blocked from renomination on the Republican ticket by a virtual unknown: State Sen. John Marchi.

As if to add insult to injury, conservatives in Westchester County swept five of six Board of Supervisor posts, while virtually all Lindsay-supported city council candidates outside Manhattan were defeated. Meanwhile, in Buffalo, a Polish-American housewife, Alfreda W. Slominski, running as a champion of law and order and an advocate of neighborhood schools, won a thumping 2-to-1 victory over her Lindsay-like opponent for the Republican nomination for mayor.

All this is not to say that liberalism has been completely stamped out in New York. While Lindsay lost the GOP primary, for instance, his two running mates managed to make it. And in the Democratic primary, the total combined vote for the liberal candidates bettered Procaccino's by 2 to 1.

Lindsay, himself, while on the ropes, can still bounce back to Gracie Mansion. He will run on the Liberal party line in the November elections and has talked of forming a new "Urban party" which will give him another line on the ballot and permit him to attract a coalition of Democrats and Republicans who supported liberals in the primaries.

If Lindsay can retain the 106,000 Republicans who voted for him and lure Democrats who backed liberals in their own primaries, he will undoubtedly win. But politicos agree this will be difficult. While Lindsay initially expected the Democratic liberals to fall all over him rather than go for Procaccino, many are having second thoughts about the matter, and there are strong signs that they might even form their own party for the fall with a bona fide liberal Democrat to head it.

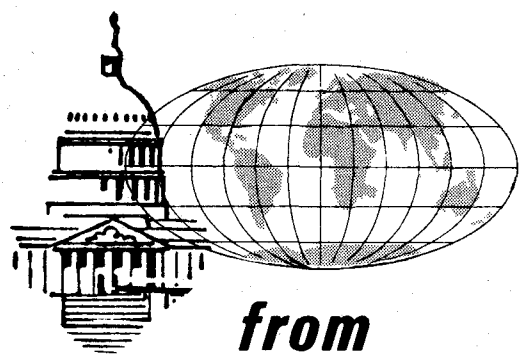
Moreover, many of the voters Lindsay hopes to woo are GOP or Democratic regulars who will refuse to jump their party's traces in November. Thus, Lindsay is by no means assured of winning. (In fact, since Democrats far outnumber Republicans in New York City, many believe the odds favor Procaccino. Marchi's chances appear less bright now that a conservatively oriented candidate has been nominated by the Democrats, but a few politicos still believe he can make it, especially if the liberal Democrats form a new party.)

A jubilant John Marchi greets his supporters after learning that he had captured the GOP nod for mayor of New York City.

But no matter what the final outcome, Lindsay's loss to Marchi in the GOP primary will probably have a lasting effect on the Republican party, not only in New York but nationwide. For the clear reading of the GOP primary is that it does not pay to be a Lindsay and practice Lindsayism if one wants to stay in Republican politics.

Lindsay lost despite his overwhelming advantage in glamour, money and publicity and the fact that he was the incumbent, a man who was daily touted by the majority of New York's newspapers as the "Great Urban Hope." Figures reveal that he outspent Marchi almost 4 to 1 He received aid from important GOP politicos within the state—Herbert Brownell, Tom Dewey, Jacob Javits—and was endorsed by many Republicans in the Senate and in the House.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Lindsay also had the advantage of having friends in the Nixon Administration, particularly Cabinet officers George Romney and Robert Finch, who came across with some $70 million in federal grants in the waning days of the campaign.

On top of all this, Marchi's campaign was abysmally poor—a fact attested to by those who helped run it. It was not only short on cash and first-rate talent, but candidate Marchi spent much of his time working on state legislative matters in Albany. When he did get down to campaigning, he stumped the city in a lackluster manner and often arrived late for important political engagements.

Nevertheless, Marchi managed to win the primary. While the final citywide figures—111,725 to 106,358—were squeakingly close, Marchi in fact carried four of the five boroughs. Only Lindsay's 31,000-vote margin in Manhattan saved him from an overwhelming defeat.

The impact of the GOP primary, according to political observers, is ominous for liberals in the party. "Sen. Charles Goodell, who is up in 1970, must be sweating blood for having placed all his eggs in the Lindsay basket," remarked one politico. Goodell, who has made a dizzying swing to the left since he was appointed to the Senate last year, is almost certain to face primary opposition.

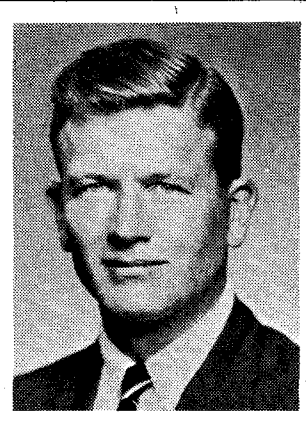
Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who may run for a fourth term next year, had already detected the rightward wind and has been feverishly working behind the scenes to appease conservative Republicans. Rocky's refusal to campaign for Lindsay and his statement that he would endorse the primary winner were two of several peace offerings to the conservatives. There is also strong evidence that Rockefeller men—and perhaps the governor himself—will come to Marchi's aid in the upcoming campaign.

Equally frightening as these developments, so far as the liberal Republicans are concerned, is the growing force of the Conservative party. The Conservative party made Lindsay a minority candidate four years ago and this year it supplied the necessary money and manpower to deprive him of the GOP nomination. More than ever before, New York Republicans are aware of the party's power.

Lindsay and liberalism may not yet be dead in the Republican party, but the New York primary has produced a death rattle that has been heard across the country.

• 'Golden Boy's' Legacy

The Chicago *Tribune*, in editorializing about the "downfall of destiny's tot," remarked that, "No one has ever made it expressly clear what claim Lindsay had for calling himself a Republican. As a congressman, he consistently voted against his party's national policies, and when he ran for mayor he ostentatiously refused to identify himself as a Republican. In 1964 he refused to support the Republican presidential candidate, and in 1968 he made sure that Richard Nixon would lose New York by torpedoing the proposed alliance of presidential electors between the Conservative party and the New York GOP.



LINDSAY

PROCACCINO

"Lindsay's evident distaste for the party whose nomination he accepted four years ago (along with that of the Liberal party) alienated loyal Republicans, but his downfall was primarily attributed to his inability to govern. His administration was ushered in with a 12-day transit strike. The longest garbage strike in the city's history piled up mountains of refuse in the streets. The public school system was paralyzed for weeks by a teachers' strike which had ugly overtones of hostility between blacks and the largely Jewish teacher corps.

"Violence in public colleges and high schools added to the public fear. Eight million New Yorkers came to live in daily terror of mugging, robbery and other violent crimes. After four years of Lindsay there are approximately 300 more murders annually than in 1965, 50,000 more robberies, and 50,000 more burglaries. Lindsay denigrated and demoralized the city police while appearing to truckle to blacks and Puerto Ricans. When a snowstorm tied the city in knots last winter, the administration's deadly slowness in clearing the streets was bitterly criticized. Between 1965 and 1968, New York City welfare rolls climbed 81 per cent, from 400,000 to one million.

"Lindsay was the Golden Boy of the liberal Eastern Republican establishment, touted as a comer for high state and national office. He had looks and an earnest facility for words, but all the time he was more of a Hollywood set mockup than a three-dimensional man of thought and action. . . . There was nothing behind the facade.

"As *Barron's Weekly* remarked, the Lindsay regime was a civic disaster, on the scale, say, of the San Francisco earthquake or the Chicago fire."

• Nixon Backs Marchi

Mayor John Lindsay, with only his Liberal party nomination in hand, plunged into his desperate campaign for re-election the day after his disastrous primary showing, but his reception ranged from lukewarm to hostile.

On Flatbush Avenue in Brooklyn, about 50 persons surrounded his entourage and shouted: "We want Marchi." Sid Davidoff, the mayor's weight-lifting friend, became so angry he grabbed one of the teen-agers who were heckling Lindsay and began to march him to his car. The muscular Davidoff, clad in a polo shirt and a golf jacket, had earlier told the teen-ager to "get lost" when he gave a thumbs-down sign. When the teen-ager reappeared, Davidoff clutched him and said: "I'm taking you to my car." When a photographer for the New York *Daily News* took his picture, Davidoff let the youngster go and asked the cameraman to "kill the picture." (The *News* printed it anyway.)

His reception was not particularly pleasant elsewhere. In Harlem, which has usually been very friendly to Lindsay, the mayor encountered hostility from about six members of CORE shouting: "We don't need you here now. . . ."

In waging his frantic effort to save himself from

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political oblivion, Lindsay also resorted to one of his favorite campaign devices: name calling. After the Republican party had given him the heave-ho, Lindsay aimed this shaft at Republicans who might support Marchi: "I would think," he said, "that any public servant who bears the Republican label would be very careful at this point about diving in to support a candidate who is the candidate captured by the forces of the ultra-right in this city, that stands for fear and appeals to hatred."

Within hours, however, a whole troop of Republicans, including GOP Chairman Rogers C.B. Morton, Vice President Spiro Agnew and, indeed, President Nixon himself, had "dived in" to support Marchi.

When specifically asked in his press conference about the mayoralty races in Los Angeles, Minneapolis and New York, President Nixon stressed:

"Well, I think the snap reaction to the election in Los Angeles, which was understandable, may have been wrong. The snap reaction to that election, because it was a white man, was that it was simply a white-black vote.

"And yet when you see Minneapolis, where there is only a 4 per cent black constituency, coming up with a 62 per cent vote for a candidate against the Republican candidate for mayor, and then in New York City where you see conservative candidates, that is the label that has apparently been given to both of them, in both the Democratic and Republican primaries, winning over the liberal candidates, it seems to me we have to take a different view.

"What I feel is this: I do not believe the great majority of the American people in our cities are anti-Negro, anti-poor or anti-welfare, or reactionary, or members of hate groups.

"I do believe, however, this, and this is the message that comes through rather loud and clear from these elections: the American people in our cities, in our small towns, and in this country are fed up to here [at this point Nixon put his hand to his chin] with violence and lawlessness and they want candidates who will take a strong stand against it. I think that is the message for the candidates in the future."

King Wiretap Controversy

Who "bugged" the late Dr. Martin Luther King? That was the subject of a controversy raging through the Nation's Capital last week, involving everyone from obscure former Justice Department officials to President Nixon, and when the smoke cleared the finger pointed at another recent victim of an assassin's gun: The late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the former U.S. attorney general.

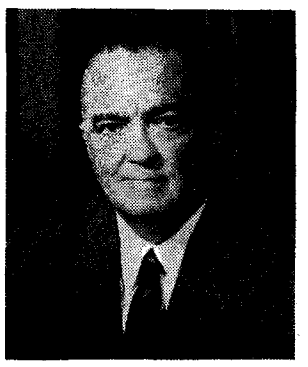
The controversy first broke during the draft evasion hearings for former boxing champ Cassius Clay in Houston. Clay's lawyers claimed evidence against the Black Muslim advocate was gathered through illegal wiretapping. Not true, said the Justice Department, arguing that Clay's conversations were picked up on an FBI wiretap involved in a national security investigation of another man. That wiretap, an FBI agent revealed at the Houston hearing, was monitoring the phone calls of Dr. King, then head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

This revelation gave a field day to those many factions around Washington who wish to depose FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Columnist Carl Rowan called for Hoover's resignation outright, saying the FBI had no authority to tap King's telephone. Former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark said "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

In self-defense, Hoover himself went to the Washington *Evening Star,* taking with him two documents from his files. One of these was written in June 1963 by Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and its liaison man with the Justice Department. In it Evans reported to Hoover the substance of a conversation he had just had with Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, brother of the then President.

Kennedy, Evans reported, was concerned over possible infiltration of the civil rights movement by Communists and other Marxist types and was alarmed at reports that Dr. King, then unofficial leader of the movement, was associating with known Communists and was a student of Marxism. Evans told Hoover that Kennedy had then inquired as to the possibility of the FBI's installing electronic listening devices on King's telephones.

The second memorandum Hoover showed *Evening Star* reporters last week was dated Oct. 7, 1963—nearly six weeks before the assassination of President John F. Kennedy—and constituted an FBI request for



HOOVER

KENNEDY

authorization to proceed with the wiretap of Dr. King proposed by Kennedy four months previously. The request was approved by Robert Kennedy placing his signature on the memo, together with the date "10-10-63." (For more on the King conversations, see page 7.)

(Prior to this authorization, Hoover told the *Evening Star,* FBI officials had in fact questioned Kennedy on the wisdom of tapping King's phone lines in view of possible political repercussions. Kennedy, however, was adamant, said Hoover.)

Capping off his self-defense, Hoover declared: "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the attorney general."

The question of who was responsible for authorizing wiretaps during Kennedy's tenure as attorney general flared up briefly after the late President's brother had become a U.S. senator from New York. Hoover and the then-Sen. Kennedy exchanged accusations over who bore the responsibility for use of hidden microphones in investigations (no names of subjects being mentioned) and angry letters were sent back and forth. It is reported that the FBI quickly reminded Kennedy it still had authorizations signed by him in its files. The public battle rapidly subsided.

But now the brouhaha is in full bloom once more. Hoover's interview with the *Evening Star* prompted yet another outburst from former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, charging that the FBI chief's defense was some sort of indecency "because it comes after Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King have been murdered in the service of humanity and are unable to defend themselves." Of course they were also no longer alive to support Clark, either.

At his televised press conference the night the *Evening Star* story broke, reporters asked President Nixon for his comments on the controversy and whether or not he still had confidence in Hoover. "Mr. Hoover does enjoy my complete confidence," Nixon responded, saying that, as for the King incident, "I checked personally into the matter as to whether or not that surveillance which had been discussed had been conducted by him [Hoover] and the FBI, by themselves, or whether it had been, as is supposed to be the case, always approved by the attorney general."

"I found," Nixon concluded, "that it had always been approved by the attorney general, as Mr. Hoover testified in 1964 and 1965."

In light of President Nixon's comments, one of the most peculiar responses to Hoover's allegations came from former Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach. While conceding that Kennedy officially authorized the bug on King's phone lines, Katzenbach contended that "to say or imply that this tap was the original conception of Robert Kennedy. . . .is false."

"It is unworthy of the tradition of the FBI to attack in this fashion the reputation of two men who cannot defend themselves," said the Katzenbach statement.

Apparently it is wrong for Hoover to "attack" men who can't defend themselves, but it is perfectly all right for others to attack Hoover when the only man who could defend *him* would be Bobby Kennedy.

But Nicholas Katzenbach is around to defend himself. Bobby Kennedy resigned as attorney general in September 1964, his assistant Nick Katzenbach being elevated to succeed him. The FBI's wiretap on Dr. King continued until April 30, 1965, obviously with the new attorney general's approval. If Katzenbach is so upset over the tap on Dr. King now, why didn't he stop it then?

An even more interesting question looms: Bobby, Katzenbach and the rest of the Kennedy entourage used to shower extravagant praise on the late Dr. King. Bobby attended the funeral, he tended to Mrs. King and demonstrated, at least publicly, that he was King's wonderful friend. Well, maybe he was. But just what kind of a friend is it that secretly taps your telephone?

Nixon's 'Withdrawal' Blunder

Diplomatic experts in the Nation's Capital say that President Nixon's press statements on Viet Nam last week were a "serious blunder" that may have helped to panic Saigon and undercut our negotiations at the Paris peace talks.

Previously, it was noted, the White House has been extremely careful in its approach to the Viet Nam situation. The President has purposely not revealed his cards and had pointedly refused to talk of a timetable for withdrawal of U.S. troops. At the meeting with President Thieu in Midway, Nixon cautiously announced a modest withdrawal of only 25,000 troops, even though many had expected more. Furthermore, many of the troops were to be withdrawn to Hawaii and other Pacific outposts—so they could be flown back to Viet Nam at a moment's notice. These measured moves, moreover, were done with a judicious eye cocked toward the Saigon government, whose officials are extremely fearful that the U.S. might cut the legs out from under it with a vast troop withdrawal.

The President's diplomacy also had additional benefits. By refusing to say just what the U.S. has had in mind, the White House has kept the pressure on the enemy at the negotiating table. And by rejecting the "timetable" approach for troop withdrawals, the President was under no spur to carry out a plan to which he had publicly committed himself.

Now, however, the President seems to have lost his cool. Last week he was asked if he agreed with former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford's suggestion that 100,000 American troops ought to be out by the end of this year and that all ground troops should be out by the end of 1970. Nixon initially tore into Clifford's own record as secretary of defense, reminding Clifford that our casualties were at the highest rate during the year in which he was our defense secretary.

Proceeding cautiously, Nixon then said he would "not indicate the number [to be withdrawn], because the number will depend upon the extent of training of the South Vietnamese, as well as developments in Paris, and the other factors that I have mentioned previously."

But then the President went on to say that "as far as how many will be withdrawn by the end of this year, or the end of next year, I would hope that we could beat Mr. Clifford's timetable." He reiterated this hope later on.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of **"Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?"**, the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of **Human Events.** Single copies 35¢; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

Also available because of popular demand, is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant. . .Then Too Cowardly".** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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In short, Nixon has now made his own "timetable" and has induced the belief in both Saigon and Washington that he plans to pull out all our troops no matter what the war situation is by 1970.

How, it is being asked, can such utterances bolster Saigon's trust in the United States? And why in the world will the enemy want to negotiate when the President talks of bettering Clifford's own startling proposal on the withdrawal of U.S. troops? Unless he alters the clear impression he has left, it is said, he may very well jeopardize our entire military and diplomatic position in South Viet Nam.

Top GOPer Moves Leftward

"What has happened to Rep. John Anderson?" That's the question House colleagues are mulling over these days as the influential Illinois Republican appears to be veering sharply to port on a number of vital political issues. What makes this important is that Anderson was elected just this year to take over the job of chairman of the House Republican Conference to replace current Defense Secretary Melvin Laird. The conference chairman plays a crucial role in shaping House GOP policy.

ANDERSON

Elected to the House in 1962, the 46-year-old Anderson has been considered an articulate conservative who racked up 100 per cent conservative ratings on the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) scoreboard. But in the past several years Anderson has been "moderating" his position. In the second session of the 88th Congress—1964-66—his conservative rating declined somewhat to 87 per cent, and in the last session of the 90th Congress (1968) it plunged another 20 points.

Last year, in fact, seems to have been a decisive turning point for Anderson. As a member of the powerful House Rules Committee, he cast the decisive vote on that committee which eventually enabled the Senate-passed federal "open housing" legislation to pass into law without any chance for prudent amendment by the House. Anderson had actually opposed a weaker open housing bill in 1966, but he defended his switch by claiming the time had come for this type of legislation.

Another indication of Anderson's march leftward in 1968 was revealed by the American Conservative Union's publication, *Battle Line*. From 1963 when he came to the House until 1968, the newsletter noted, Anderson had cast only three votes against the majority of his party on crucial votes in the House. In 1968, out of a possible 28 rollcalls in which a minority of Republicans provided the margin of victory to Democrats, Anderson cast nine such votes. He was endorsed for re-election in 1968, furthermore, by the liberal Ripon Society.

Anderson continues his liberal maneuverings. This year he was one of the 65 House Republicans who urged Mayor John Lindsay's nomination over that of State Sen. John Marchi in the New York Republican mayoralty primary.

And just last week he shocked some of his more conservative colleagues with his demand for a unilateral halt by the United States in the testing of multiple missile warheads. President Nixon rejected such unilateral action in his press conference.

While Anderson's moves are puzzling, some are speculating that he is attempting to make an alliance with Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.) and other "liberal" Republicans in Illinois in the hope that he will receive their support for a Senate bid when Dirsken retires. Whatever the reason, however, there seems no mistaking Anderson's concerted effort to desert his hitherto conservative image.

Russians Plotted 'Pueblo' Affair

One of the highest-ranking Communist officials ever to defect to the West reveals in a *Readers' Digest* article published this week that the Soviet Union plotted the capture of the *U.S.S. Pueblo* eight months before the seizure took place off the Korean coast.

The author, Gen. Jan Sejna, until February 1968 the Communist party's senior secretary in the Czechoslovakian Ministry of National Defense, first learned of the plot at a lavish banquet in Prague in May 1967. The guest of honor at the feast was the visiting Soviet minister of defense, Marshal Andrei Grechko, a normally tight-lipped Communist functionary who, on this occasion, became lucid and expansive under the influence of vodka.

"He embarked on his favorite subject, the invincibility of the Soviet armed forces," Gen. Sejna recalls in the *Digest*, "with emphasis this time on the multiplying might of Russian sea power." The former Czech official, who was in charge of political control of his country's defense ministry and general staff until his defection, relates that Marshal Grechko then said:

"It is absolutely insolent the way the Americans sail their damn ships around as if they owned the water. Their espionage ships come right up to our shores to spy on our communications. But I can tell you this: we have decided to humble the Americans. Just as we humiliated them in the air by shooting down the U-2, we are going to humiliate them at sea by grabbing one of these ships."

But wasn't Moscow concerned over the implications of American reaction? one of Grechko's incredulous Czech listeners asked.

"Don't worry about that," Gen. Sejna quotes the Soviet officer as responding. "The Americans haven't dared to blockade Haiphong, because they know that our ships would shoot their way through. They won't do anything about an incident like this either. We are not afraid of them and that is what the whole world will see."

It became clear to Gen. Sejna through Grechko's conversation that the Pacific Ocean had been selected by Moscow as the setting for this "humiliation." This was not only because the Pacific was thought of as "an American preserve," writes Gen. Sejna, but also because it afforded an opportunity for Russia to further its campaign to humiliate the Red Chinese. "This will again show [our Communist allies] that it is we, not the Chinese, upon whom they can depend," the author quotes Grechko as saying. "They will see that we *act* while the Chinese simply bray and posture."

Gen. Sejna all but forgot this conversation in the hurly-burly of Czech politics during the following months. Then, on Jan. 24, 1968, Soviet Col. Gen. Aleksandr Kushchev, the principal Warsaw Pact representative in Prague, told Czech Defense Ministry officials of the *Pueblo*'s seizure by the North Koreans the previous day.

"The entire operation went off smoothly—incredibly smoothly," Kushchev is reported as saying at the briefing. "The *Pueblo* crew, to a man, capitulated. They did not fire a shot. Frankly, we thought it would be much more complicated. The Americans were so bewildered that they failed to destroy thousands of documents. . . .

"We've all heard about what a great communications and command system the Americans have. . .how they can respond instantly to an attack. Well, yesterday it took Washington literally hours to pull itself together and even begin to react. This is a precise example of how the most advanced military technology cannot compensate for a lack of will and leadership."

In the weeks that followed Moscow officials came to realize how extremely valuable were the "thousands of documents" captured with the *Pueblo* and its crew. At a briefing in mid-February, Gen. Sejna recalls, "we heard an extraordinarily detailed analysis of the deployment and operations of American naval forces in the Pacific. The source was identified as the *Pueblo*." The ex-Czech officer adds that the Russians were also able to read previously indecipherable American codes as a result of documents found on the ship.

The moral of Gen. Sejna's *Digest* article is that the Soviet Union is currently ruled by "a militaristic clique of marshals," "narrow-minded hard-liners" who are tempted by "signs of weakness." "Unless they are convinced that the American government and the American people are prepared to resist future aggression," Gen. Sejna warns, "then more aggression is inevitable."

Life With the Panthers

According to two thoroughly disillusioned former members, the outwardly revolutionary Black Panther party is actually an ingenious extortion racket through which Panther "Chief-of-Staff" David Halliard cynically exploits the left-wing fervor of his membership for personal profit.

In testimony given last week before the Investigations subcommittee of Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), Larry and Jean Powell, recently purged from high positions in the Panther organization, accused Halliard and his clique of perverting what they considered an idealistically orientated Panther movement into a crime syndicate characterized by wholesale robbery of the population and selective terror against anyone with the courage to speak out against the ruthless Halliard dictatorship.

According to Powell's testimony, Halliard has succeeded in purging the party's Old Bolsheviks so completely that now, after a long series of expulsions, assassinations and arrests by the police, only one of the party's original 40 members is still active in the organization. This member, Bobby Seale, was considered so wedded to a Scotch bottle that he offered no resistance to Halliard's boss rule.

Halliard's grip on the Panther movement is alleged to be as absolute as was Stalin's on Russia. Iron-clad discipline has countenanced the beating up of members for not selling enough party newspapers. Teen-age boys are ordered to commit assassinations of recalcitrant members, whereas their female counterparts are exploited as bed partners for Halliard's inner clique. The Halliard dictatorship even boasts its own private maximum-security prison for the reindoctrination of the more malleable party deviationists.

The Powells spared no details in accusing Halliard of cynically swindling his highly idealistic following. The Panthers' national headquarters in Berkeley receive $50,000 to $100,000 from their legal fund-raising operations alone, but very little of this is said to ever get past the boss' desk. This bounteous stream of money, united with a torrent of advice from Cuba and Red China, is the personal responsibility of David Halliard, about which none of the membership is ever informed.

Besides the usual pecuniary aids from the usual liberal sources, Halliard's wallet is additionally enriched by the proceeds from shakedowns of ghetto merchants and an average of two to three armed robberies a night. The Panthers, charged the Powells, supply operational plans to interested entrepreneurs, who then return to Dave Halliard every third banknote for his pains.

In an eloquent conclusion to his testimony which drew considerable praise from the senators present, Larry Powell spoke over the heads of the committee members to those of his fellow blacks who fail to see that "freedom in its real sense is nothing more than the right of self-discipline."

The fate of being called an Uncle Tom drives many blacks to revolutionary violence to prove their manhood, he observed; but "it is more a mark of manhood to tell the advocates of revolution to go to hell."

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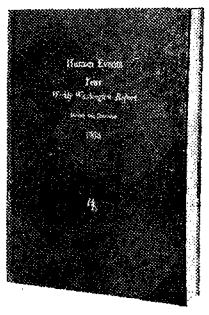

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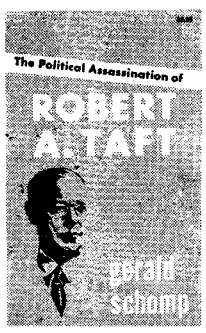

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ABM Debate

Battle of the Books—and Ads

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The "battle of the experts" over the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system proposed by President Nixon was sanguinary but one-sided. The experts testifying against the ABM were the leaders of the old scientific establishment, the men who said the H-bomb was—or should be—impossible. The solidest opinion, from Dr. Edward Teller up, down or across the board, took cognizance of the great Soviet investment in anti-ballistic missiles and of developing Soviet ability to deliver a nuclear knockout punch with its multi-warhead SS-9 rockets. This, at least, is how I saw it.

In the debate, moreover, the Senate forces opposed to the ABM had no answer to the simple summation of the pro-ABM forces: If the Administration is wrong and we deploy Safeguard, all that is lost is money; if the opponents of ABM are wrong and we do not deploy Safeguard, then the United States faces outright destruction or nuclear blackmail.

Now the "battle of the experts" has abated. In its place, there is the "battle of the books." And here the preponderance of strength seems to be on the anti-ABM side. Contending are *USSR vs. U.S.A., the ABM and the Changed Strategic Military Balance* (pro) and *ABM, An Evaluation* (anti). The pro volume is the product of a special American Security Council committee headed by the Nobel Laureate, Dr. Willard F. Libby; Dr. William Thaler of Georgetown University; and Gen. Nathan F. Twining, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The anti book is edited by Abram Chayes, a former State Department lawyer, and Jerome Wiesner, a peripatetic ag'iner and now provost of MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). Among those contributing are such military and scientific experts as former Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, the labor lawyer, Bill Moyers, a one-time press secretary for Lyndon Johnson; Allen S. Whiting, a professor of political science; Hans Bethe, one of those who fought Dr. Teller when the feasibility of the H-bomb was being debated; Adam Yarmolinsky, one of former Defense Secretary McNamara's "whiz kids"; and a congeries of minor scientific, legal and other academicians.

The difference between the two books, other than their content, is their sponsorship. *USSR vs. U.S.A.* was prepared by the modestly financed American Security Council, an organization of distinguished Americans which has turned out major studies of the U.S. and Soviet military postures. *ABM* was put together for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and crash-published by Harper & Row, one of the bigger New York publishing houses. Unlimited funds seem to be available to promote the anti book, with two-page ads running in the Washington *Post* and other major metropolitan newspapers, an unheard-of outlay for any book at any time.

The ad copy for the anti-ABM book, moreover, was so loaded and so inaccurate that the Washington *Post* took it apart in a lead editorial. For example, the *Post* noted that the ad, purportedly citing an "AP quote from pro-ABM presentation, May 7, 1969," tried to hang on those favoring Safeguard the statement: "An anti-missile defense is foolproof. It will give us a seamless garment of security in an age of acute danger."

But what the Associated Press story had said was: "Anti-missile defense is *an essential component in the network* of military systems *designed to give* the American people a seamless garment of security in an age of acute danger," which is something considerably different. And, as the *Post* also notes, the word "foolproof" does not appear in either the original dispatch or the original document, which happens to be the American Security Council study.

This doctoring of documents is of a piece with the rest of the Harper & Row ad, which includes a coupon to be mailed in by readers, saying in loud capital letters, "I REALLY BELIEVE MY FAMILY AND I WILL BE SAFE ONCE WE PROCEED WITH THE 'SAFEGUARD' ABM"—"YES" or "NO."

Among the anti-ABMers is former State Department legal officer Abram Chayes.

This is good Madison Avenue advertising copy, and it should frighten the uninformed and the careless. But neither the President nor Defense Secretary Laird—nor anyone else, for that matter—has stated that the Safeguard system will give us complete safety. It is one more measure in our defensive arsenal. By reducing a crucial debate to the absurdity of "Do you have bad breath?" techniques, the opponents of the "Safeguard" system and Harper & Row cast suspicion on their entire case.

Sen. Kennedy's privately financed book can be seen almost everywhere, which bespeaks the investment that went into it. One major columnist has called the anti-ABM drive, of which *ABM* is a part, the most lavishly financed he has ever witnessed. To pay for the small ads it has run for *USSR vs. U.S.A.* the American Security Council (1101 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) has been asking for contributions from concerned citizens.

And that's how the "battle of the books" is going. John Fisher, president of the American Security Council, has called on Sen. Kennedy to repudiate the Harper & Row ad. (That's part of the battle.) But he's not holding his breath while he waits for an answer.

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□ □ □

THEODORE C. SORENSEN, President Kennedy's ghost writer who is about to acquire his third wife, says he's still "seriously considering" running for the United States Senate from New York against incumbent Republican Charles Goodell in 1970. Insiders say Sorensen has definitely decided to make the race.

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FBI Has Startling Recordings of King's Conversations

By PAUL SCOTT

Public airing of the FBI's recordings of private conversations Dr. Martin Luther King conducted with his protest advisers could go a long way toward changing the image of the slain civil rights leader.

Summaries of the recordings, as revealed to members of a House Appropriations subcommittee, headed by Rep. John J. Rooney (D.-N.Y.), clearly indicate that King was in direct contact with one of the most influential Communists in the U.S.

With leads obtained from their electronic eavesdropping, the FBI was able to confirm that this Kremlin agent, whose influence extended into the highest ranks of the Communist Party, U.S.A., was one of King's ghost writers and chief advisers on protest strategy.

In addition to the evidence gained from the King recordings, the FBI succeeded in taking several photographs of the civil rights leader meeting with this covert Communist operator at one of the major U.S. airports.

King, whose assassination in Memphis, Tenn., in April 1968, is still carried as an "open investigation" by the FBI, was first put under government surveillance in 1961 when the late Robert Kennedy was attorney general.

Although Kennedy after leaving the Justice Department denied any knowledge of King's surveillance, FBI and Justice Department records show he authorized the inquiry during a conference attended by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, then-Deputy Atty. Gen. Nicholas de Katzenbach, and another high-ranking FBI aide.

The surveillance of King, now under fire by several large East Coast newspapers, was the outgrowth of information that the FBI agents obtained during its investigation of another national security case.

When King's name was mentioned several times by one of the persons under surveillance in the case, it was decided that the civil rights leader should be placed under close observation.

The FBI inquiry, which continued for several years, involved King's trips to Sweden and East Germany as well as his preparations to lead the so-called "Poor Army Campaign" to disrupt Washington.

These and other still-secret details of King's activities were revealed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to members of the Rooney subcommittee shortly before the civil rights leader was slain.

Deeply concerned about King's plans to disrupt Washington, the legislators had requested the briefing so they would be prepared to blunt his assault on Congress should that become necessary.

So alarming was the FBI's data on King that the lawmakers took the extraordinary step of briefing House Speaker John McCormack. This information, along with other material furnished by the FBI, caused McCormack to make extensive preparations, including the alerting of military units to defend the Capitol against King's plans to cause massive disruption.

The House Democratic leaders, all strong supporters of the late President Kennedy, were reputedly shocked at the gutter-type language King used in private conversations about the late President.

Other recordings in the FBI files dealt extensively with his private life, according to the legislators, and showed that there were two Kings—one the public knew and the other known only to his closest friends and the FBI.

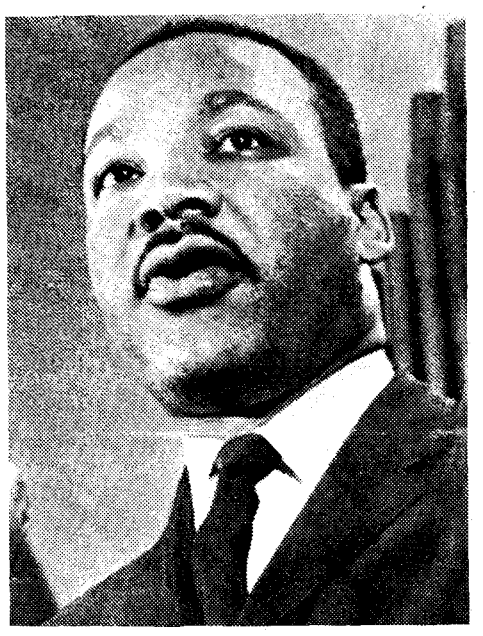
Although no government agency or commission has made a study of King's long-range strategy of protest, there is enough evidence in the files of the FBI to show that King's goal was to create a mass protest movement. With the movement, King and his advisers hoped to force a radical change in this country's form of government.

King's leadership task was to give the over-all movement "motion" and an acceptable "image" that would attract millions of Negroes, young people, the poor, clergy, and those disenchanted with the Viet Nam war.

His tactics in changing his protest leadership from one of civil rights to anti-war, anti-poverty, and anti-government during the closing days of his life were part of this grand strategy.

Whether most of these FBI recordings, since many of them deal with national security cases still under investigation, will ever be revealed by the Nixon Administration is conjectural.

Should supporters of King, however, pump new life into the stalled drive in Congress to create a national holiday honoring him, demands could become forthcoming from anti-King legislators that Hoover be called to testify. If



The late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King allegedly had conversations with an influential U.S. Communist.

that occurs, the "Martin Luther King tapes" could become big news.

For now, the only public confirmation of the King recordings comes from Houston Federal Judge Joe Ingraham's hearing involving the case of former heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay.

Testimony by FBI agents in the Houston hearing revealed that conversations of King and Clay were recorded. In one instance, Judge Ingraham pronounced it a matter of national security and refused to let it be made public.

Clay, convicted of draft dodging in June 1967, and sentenced to five years in prison, is appealing his conviction. The U.S. Supreme Court ordered Ingraham to hold a hearing to see whether illegal wiretap testimony was used to convict Clay.

Both the movement to mark King's birthday as a national holiday and the Houston court hearing clearly indicate that the final chapter in the Martin Luther King story is yet to be written.

★ ★ ★

Senate Democratic Whip Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) painfully learned a lesson in White House protocol two weeks ago.

With Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) away from Washington, Kennedy was invited as acting Senate leader to the White House meeting called by President Nixon to brief congressional leaders on his Midway conference with South Viet Nam's President Thieu.

When Kennedy showed up at the White House for the conference with Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), an outspoken critic of Nixon's Viet Nam and defense policies, a White House aide inquired about the latter's presence.

Kennedy's reply was that he had brought Symington along to attend the briefing. After consultation with the President, the Nixon aide tersely reported that Symington couldn't attend, since only congressional leaders of the House and Senate were invited.

Symington was told that if he wanted a separate briefing on the Midway meeting that it could be arranged later. On hearing this, Symington left the White House while Kennedy was left speechless.

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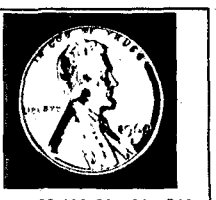

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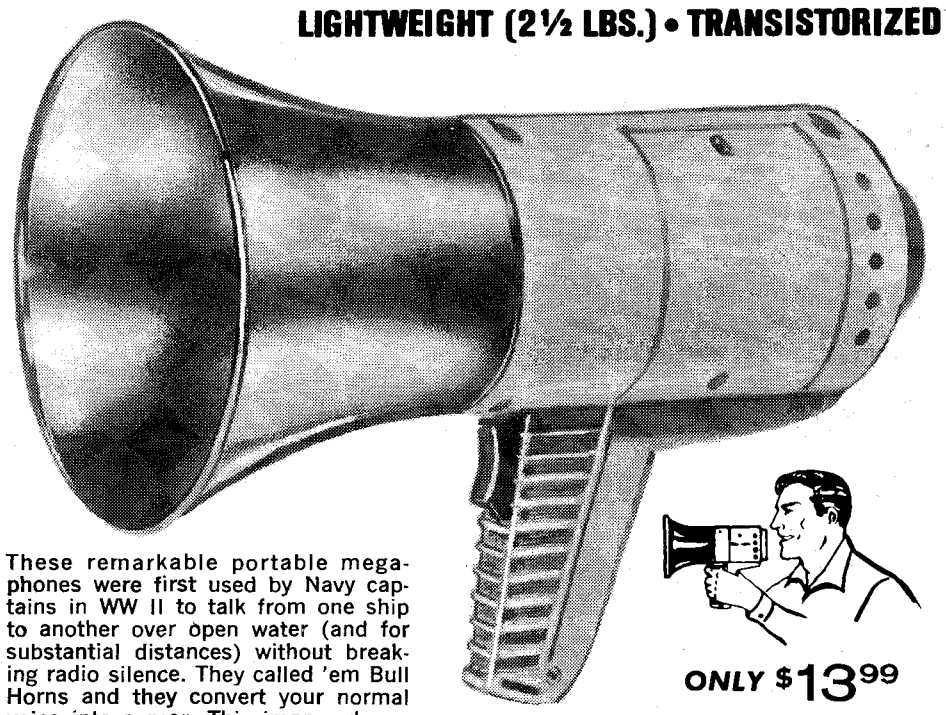

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EDA's Recommended Reading List

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Congressman William Minshall of Ohio is hopping mad at the Economic Development Administration and at the Urban Reports Corporation of Cleveland. It seems that the EDA contracted with the Urban Reports Corporation to draw up a suitable list of recommended reading materials for job training centers throughout the country. In a 188-page report, "A Survey of Remedial Educational Materials for Job Training Centers," the corporation came up with a dilly of a suggested reading list.

Apparently, the majority of Americans expected to be trained in these federal job centers are Negro, for the reading list is heavily weighted with books by Negro authors. Mr. Minshall does not object to these works per se, but rather to the inclusion of works by LeRoi Jones, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, James Baldwin, Dick Gregory, David Lythom and Malcolm X. The works of these authors can be described as both militant and activist. Conversely, no works by the conservative Negro journalist, George Schuyler, are included.

Mr. Minshall does not advocate book-banning; he points out that the works to which he objects are available at every public library. He does object to the fact that they are included on a list being circulated now by the EDA, giving covert federal approval to the use of these works as remedial reading materials in job training courses. In his view, job trainees should be taught new skills, instead of being instructed in the militant nihilism of Eldridge Cleaver and Stokely Carmichael.

Comes the revolution, taxpayers will learn whether the trainees whose courses were financed with federal funds learned better how to get a job or to start a war.

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Communists Make Fiasco of Rockefeller Trip

Will Nixon now try new tactics to neutralize Latin anti-capitalists?

By PAUL BETHEL

After completing two legs of his four-legged foray into Latin America, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller remains ferociously optimistic. But his reception has been ferocious, period.

Rockefeller was confined to the airport at La Paz, Bolivia, for a brief stay and refused entry to Chile, Peru and Venezuela. By some published accounts, the Rockefeller visits have left nine killed and more than 600 wounded in Communist-incited riots. The New York governor has objected to those reports, calling them "false, misleading and unfair."

He may be right, but he also may be missing the point. It is just possible that in sensationalist Latin politics (abetted by skillful Communist propaganda) those figures will remain as an index in the public mind of "the peoples' opposition to the Colussus of the North." No matter how well the balance of the trip may go, it cannot erase what has gone on before.

There can be little question that Communist and leftist pressures caused cancellation of Rockefeller's visits to Peru, Chile and Venezuela.

Start with Peru. Its ruling mliitary junta is shot through with Castroites now holding prominent government positions. The "grey eminence" is Dr. Alberto Ruiz Eldredge, who also heads the team negotiating the Peru-U.S. dispute over nationalization of the International Petroleum Co.

Ruiz Eldredge is a Castroite-Marxist and has been on the Communist Cuban payroll for years. Members of his Castro-financed *Movimiento Social Progresista* party are running the junta's Ministry of Mines and Energy, have infiltrated the educational system (including Peru's military academies) and are drafting decree laws for the president, Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado.

Another MSP member, Dr. Ezequiel Ramirez Novoa, is just now winding up an ill-will tour of Latin nations on behalf of the government of Peru. He urges those countries to follow Peru's example and, in the words of one broadcast made by him over Radio Havana, "eradicate Yankee imperialist influence."

The Communist and Socialist (Castroite) parties of Chile forced the weak and divided Christian Democratic government to accept Ramirez, then turned around and pressured President Eduardo Frei into rejecting the Rockefeller mission.

Another Christian Democratic government—that of President Rafael Caldera in Venezuela—proved susceptible to Communist pressures. It said nothing when Dr. Ramirez addressed Venezuela's Communist party hierarchy in inflammatory language, but protested the Rockefeller troupe's visit on the grounds that it would provoke public disorder.

A Social Christian (a spin-off of the Christian Democrats), Bolivia's new president, Luis Adolfo Siles, claimed that the government's inability to secure the only road leading from the airport to the capital city of La Paz was responsible for confining Rockefeller's visit to one hour at the airport, submitted a "brief memorandum" to his visitor and scurried back to the President's Palace. Obviously, a helicopter could have made the journey in minutes with maximum protection afforded.

Gov. Rockefeller is hailed by Panamanian crowds during his current Latin American tour, but three countries have thus far turned down his bid to visit them.

Many of the countries visited earlier by Gov. Rockefeller and his enormous entourage erupted in violence—notably, Colombia, Ecuador and Honduras. In the latter case, a soldier's rifle went off by accident and killed a youthful demonstrator.

Many observers winced when Rockefeller's aides responded by convincing the governor to offer the brother of the dead student a partial grant to study in the United States—the kind of ostentatious behavior which angers sensitive Latins and delights the Communists. The offer was refused. Rockefeller would have been much better off making a respectful condolence call on the family rather than looking as if he were trying to trade off the family's sorrow for a few hundred dollars.

In any event, the remarkable fact is that Peru's message of hate and its urging other Latins to kick out the Yankees (through emissary Ramirez) seems to have gotten through, while Rockefeller's mission of "understanding and friendship" has been met with a combination of Communist violence and timidity on the part of governments considered to be our friends.

As to the riots, Rockefeller said that "highly organized militant forces, in many cased directed from inside and outside this hemisphere," were responsible.

"In one of the countries we visited this week," he told the press in Port of Spain, Trinidad, "there arrived a young man three days before we got there, 22 years old, who had been one of the leaders in the urprising of students in France, a Swiss citizen, and he came to the country we were visiting with specific instructions to organize student riots against these visits." Rockefeller also stated that he found Communist Cuban penetration to be a very serious threat to orderly progress in Latin America, a statement, unfortunately, that was lost at the end of more lurid accounts of his trip.

Bogotá's *El Tiempo* certainly laid it on the line. In a June 3 editorial the Colombian newspaper bluntly charged that riots occurring during the Rockefeller visits were "premeditated and methodically organized. . .planned and carried out by unhidden Communists from Moscow, Peking and Havana. . . because international communism wants to stop the United States from helping underdeveloped countries. . . ."

The unusually strong editorial also declared that Communist riots of such a clear political character "and representing continent-wide subversion, should be taken up and considered by the Council of the Organization of American States." If the Rockefeller trip did nothing more than to awaken Latin America and the United States to the seriousness of Communist subversion, said *El Tiempo*, then it was worth the candle.

Rockefeller retreated somewhat from his condemnation of communism (undoubtedly a political decision), causing the New York *Times* to comment editorially on June 4: "Gov. Rockefeller has wisely backed off from earlier assertions that the demonstrations against his mission in Latin America were due to a coordinated effort by militant forces 'inside and outside the hemisphere.'" The paper then went on to say with some satisfaction that Rockefeller admitted that there is "strong evidence" of some popular support for the anti-American manifestations.

The *Times* also quoted the statement of Galo Plaza, secretary-general of the Organization of American States, that "there is a deep feeling through Latin America at all levels of society that relations with the United States need a change . . . whatever interest outside groups may have, there is a genuine national resentment that doesn't need much outside influence." The *Times* called these "wise words."

Perhaps so, but they do not square with newspaper editorials ranging from Brazil's *O Globo* and Argentina's *La Prensa* in the south, to Colombia's *El Tiempo* and *Espectador* in the north. All warn that society is alarmed by Communist inroads, see in the Communist demonstrations a real danger and want something done about the matter.

What this suggests is that Galo Plaza and the New York *Times* may be the ones out of touch with "all levels of society" in Latin America.

Immediately important is the fact that the OAS secretary-general recommended the Rockefeller trip to President Nixon and did so with full knowledge that Soviet and Castroite Communists would use the trip as a lightning rod for abuse—not just against the person of Nelson Rockefeller, but, as *El Siglo* put it, "to denigrate and humiliate the United States of America." Plaza's statement that "national resentment" played a role in the disturbances is most interesting and, in fact, may inadvertently reveal who those people are and what they are resentful about.

The Rockefeller trip not only coincided with the anti-American tour made by Peru's Dr. Ezequiel Ramirez Novoa, but with three other events as well.

In mid-May a number of Latin American foreign ministers met at Viña del Mar, Chile, and produced a document which is a patent attempt to head off President Nixon's new policy toward Latin America—articulated as "trade, not aid." The 6,000-word statement was delivered to President Nixon in Washington by Chile's anti-American foreign minister, Gabriel Valdez. Among its declarations: "The United States should pay us economic compensation in return for political support. . .loans or aid are given to nations considered by the United States to be democratic. . .intolerable discrimination which cannot continue. . . ."

Some wording in the document is sensible and justified in content, such as asking for the curtailment of many barriers that limit Latin exports to the United States. But the thrust of the message is that some countries now governed by Kennedy-Johnson-supported left-liberal regimes want no part of outside private capital investment; they want loans and grants on a government-to-government basis.

Indeed, the document asserts that private foreign investment "should not be considered as assistance," though assistance it would be, and shuns investment even "as part of financial cooperation for development." In short, the left-liberals want as little to do with outside capital investment as possible.

The new Bolivian president, Luis Adolpho Siles, claimed his country could not guarantee Rocky's safety from the La Paz airport to the city.

What some of them want—particularly Chile's Christian Democrats—is a continuation of foreign aid which can be dispensed internally on their political terms. Economically, those countries would continue to suffer from their traditional shortage of capital. The U.S. taxpayer would pour money down a hole.

The second event of some importance was the state visit to Washington of Colombia's President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, which coincided with the delivery of the Gabriel Valdes polemic

Continued on page 13

Mr. Bethel, for many years with the U.S. Foreign Service, is the author of the newly published book, The Losers *(Arlington House), an account of the Cuban disaster and the spread of communism in Latin America.*

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Special Election Report

The Case Against Direct Popular Vote

BY M. STANTON EVANS

Debate over the electoral college has focused attention on a number of asserted defects in the present system of choosing an American President.

Less noted are the defects of the ideas brought forward as "reforms"—defects in many cases more serious than the problems they are supposed to solve. Unless these are understood and guarded against, we could emerge from the present agitation with difficulties a good deal worse than those we already have.

This is particularly true with respect to the direct popular vote amendment urged by Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.). An assessment of the record suggests this approach would generate more problems than it would solve. In terms of constitutional principle, integrity of the outcome, and practical impact in preventing a stalemate, the Bayh approach represents no clear improvement over the present system.

Superior to the Bayh proposal on all three counts is the so-called "district plan" proposed by Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), which would allow the people to choose presidential electors in constituencies corresponding to congressional districts, plus two electors at large in each state. The available data indicate this would be an improvement over the present system and superior in all major respects to the popular vote idea.

Perhaps the most serious defect of the popular vote is that it would strike a crippling blow at the federal system which has nourished American freedom.

The leading principle of our constitutional system is the diffusion of power which prevents any one man or group of men from getting too much authority. The idea of balancing power between the states on the one hand and the central government on the other was the major step toward this objective taken by the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in 1787.

Contrary to the statements of Sen. Bayh, the electoral college was an integral part of the federal compromise. The arrangement grew directly from the clash of large and small states in the convention. The large states with their big populations wanted the votes to be determined by numbers. The small states, trying to avoid being swallowed up, wanted equal representation as states.

The electoral college was not only a result of this clash but the most accurate single reflection of it. It accurately mirrored the balance achieved in Congress, with electoral votes being granted each state to equal the number of representatives in the lower house (expressing population strength) plus the two senators (expressing state equality).

Sen. Karl Mundt's congressional district plan appears to be the most constructive electoral reform.

A search of the constitutional records shows no one in the convention favored anything remotely like a direct popular vote. Some far milder versions of what was called a vote "by the people" were advanced, quite different from the Bayh proposal, but even these were overwhelmingly defeated—by an 8-to-2 vote on June 2, by a 9-to-1 vote on July 17, and by a ballot of either 7 to 3 (according to the notes of Robert Yates) or 9 to 2 (according to James Madison) on August 24.

Madison explicitly cites the state role in electing a President as part of the federal balance in "Federalist No. 45," and noted in an extensive letter on the subject in 1823 that the demands of the smaller states were behind the presidential compromise. The same blend of interests was aimed at in the method of electing a President if no one secured an electoral majority, in which the House of Representatives would have the deciding vote (expressing the population principle), but would cast its ballots by states (expressing state equality).

It is therefore idle to argue, as Bayh does, that the electoral college has nothing to do with the federal system. It has everything to do with that system and is a crystalline expression of it. Bayh and other liberal senators who think the federal balance should be overturned in this regard might just as logically abolish the Senate seats that they themselves enjoy.

A national plebiscite would eliminate both the participation of the states in the voting and the representation they were given in the method of counting votes. It would override state standards in establishing the franchise and almost inevitably lead to close federal policing of the polls. The language of the Bayh amendment explicitly provides that "Congress may adopt uniform residence and age requirements" for presidential balloting.

In an age beset by excessive centralization, the popular vote proposal would lead to still more centralization.

Better by far is the "district" plan, which would be a move toward decentralization, strengthen the federal principle, and fulfill the intentions of the men who drafted the Constitution.

Writing to George Hay in August 1823, Madison asserted: "I agree with you in thinking that the election of presidential electors by districts is an amendment very proper to be brought forward. . . .The district mode was mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted. . . ."

The district system was used in numerous states up through the election of 1832, until the massed strength afforded by the "winner-take-all" approach drove it out. Among the American statesmen who favored this plan, in addition to Madison, were Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster. Indeed, even those Founding Fathers who said they wanted "election by the people" as opposed to election by states actually meant voting by districts.

Thus on June 2, 1787, James Wilson of Pennsylvania proposed in the Constitutional Convention language to allow voting "by the people." The proposal urged "that the states be divided into. . . districts; and that persons qualified to vote in each district for members of the first branch of the national legislature elect. . .members for their respective districts to be electors of the executive magistracy. . . ."

If the direct vote idea is bad in terms of constitutional principle, it is even worse in terms of guaranteeing the fairness and honesty of the final outcome. This is an obvious case of an existing problem being intensified rather than corrected by a proposed "reform."

Under the "general ticket" approach stolen votes in Chicago or Kansas City can often tip a single state—and all its electoral votes—to one side or the other. The result is that honest votes are cancelled out by dishonest ones. Recurrence of such fraud in a number of states can conceivably decide the presidency.

The popular vote amendment would do nothing to remedy the problem. Rather than limiting fraud, it would heighten incentives to illegal practice. It would make the leverage of areas where stolen votes prevail even greater in close elections and heighten the possibility of a stolen presidency.

To see this we need only consider the presidential balloting of 1960, decided in the popular totals by an estimated 113,000 votes. Was that ballot margin real and honest? How many fraudulent votes went into the result? There is no way of telling. We do know, however, that there were huge irregularities in Chicago, in some precincts of Missouri, in Texas and other states.

In Sen. Bayh's own state of Indiana, investigation suggests there was widespread fraud in Lake County. Among other practices discovered there were imaginary voters, double registrations and "graveyard lists," custard stands and vacant lots listed as voter residences, and so forth. The cumulative impact of such things could easily total more than 113,000 votes nationwide.

When votes are counted by states, stolen ballots in Chicago affect the electoral vote of Illinois, but do not corrupt the totals beyond the state line. If they were counted nationwide without regard to state boundaries, they could determine the entire election.

Since every vote has equal impact on the outcome whether it is honest or fraudulent, the incentive for stealing would be increased. Every stolen ballot would be another leg up toward the presidency.

Again, the superiority of the district approach is apparent. The district plan would insure that stolen votes could affect only a given area, rather than a whole state or even the entire nation.

Under the district system, a barrage of stolen votes in Chicago could no longer topple the state of Illinois one way or the other. The fraud would affect only one electoral vote, in the district where it occurred, and its influence would end at the district boundary line.

Advocates of a plebiscite say the district vote would lend itself to gerrymandering. But numerical gerrymandering could be eliminated by making the districts identical with congressional districts, while adoption of the language urged by Sen. Mundt mandating constituencies substantially equal in size and compact and contiguous in formation would guard against both numerical and geographical gerrymanders.

Although direct popular election of the President as proposed by Sen. Bayh (above) looks good on paper, the chances of vote fraud would be even greater than under the present system.

Under the district approach, voters in equal numbers across the nation would be able to cast their ballots for President and have the preference of their area made known in the electoral college. At the same time, the honest decision of citizens in one area could not be canceled out by dishonest practice in another.

Only the district plan offers the double insurance of maximum equality with maximum honesty of result.

The third major issue in the electoral college debate is the practical matter of avoiding stalemate in the balloting. This is, indeed, the major forensic weapon of the popular-vote enthusiasts, who say we must have a national plebiscite to avoid a "crisis" in which the election goes to the House of Representatives.

The historical record suggests, however, that we are more likely to avoid such crises with the present system than with the popular vote. And logic indicates the district approach would be more effective still in limiting the effects of third parties and preventing stalemate.

Under the present set-up, Presidents have been decided by the House of Representatives only three times—in 1800, when Jefferson was chosen over Aaron Burr; in 1824, when John Quincy Adams was chosen over Andrew Jackson; and in 1876, when Rutherford B. Hayes was chosen, through a special commission, over Samuel J Tilden. That is not a bad record of stability over a period of 176 years, nor were the choices bad ones for the nation.

It would be the height of folly to abandon a system which has provided this outstanding record in favor of an untested abstraction which by every law of reason would lead on to constant stalemating.

In a balloting which counts only popular votes, every ballot added to the total of one party or subtracted from another would have maximum impact on the result. In an election decided by 100,000 votes, for example, the activity of a third party which can take away several million votes from the total could be absolutely decisive.

Sen. Bayh acknowledges the principle when he says the popular vote would encourage minority-party turnout in one-

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(Continued from preceding page)

party areas, since every vote counts. He applies the thought to Republicans and Democrats, but it is equally relevant to third, fourth and fifth parties concerned to make an ideological point. This sort of leverage, or "negative influence," is constantly exerted by the Liberal and Conservative parties of New York State, and it could be exerted on the national level as well.

With this arrangement, we could wind up with 15 parties, each getting a percentage of the vote and thus elect a President who has the backing of only 25 or 30 per cent of the nation. This obvious possibility has caused the advocates of a plebiscite to suggest that a candidate get 40 per cent of the total in order to win, and that a runoff be held if no one receives this much of the vote.

Even with the 40 per cent stipulation, however, the leverage power of the minor parties would be potentially enormous. They would be encouraged to deny the required percentage to any candidate the first time around, and then to barter or withhold their support for maximum impact in the eventual runoff. The prospect would be for continued multiplication of parties and a guaranteed runoff—or election by Congress—every four years.

The dangers latent in this plan were suggested by the first round of voting in this year's presidential election in France. Operating under a direct vote system, seven candidates were in the race, with an actual majority required for election. Gaullist aspirant Georges Pompidou got 44.1 per cent of the vote, centrist Alain Poher got slightly over 23 per cent, and Communist Jacques Duclos ran third with 21.4 per cent.

The election therefore had to go to a runoff between Pompidou and Poher, with Communist Duclos holding the balance of power. As the United Press International put it: "Not expected to finish so strong, Duclos now stands as apparent kingmaker for France. . . . It will be the leftists—and particularly the Communists—who decide whether Pompidou or Poher reaches the presidency."

The difference in Sen. Bayh's proposal—permitting election with 40 per cent of the total—would in this particular instance have headed off the crisis. But a shift of less than 5 percentage points could bring about a similar situation in America, with a minor party candidate winding up as presidential "kingmaker."

By way of contrast, the district plan would at a minimum preserve the stability of the present order and in all likelihood be even more effective than the "general ticket" in containing minor parties. Under the district plan, third parties could not tip the electoral votes of entire states, or of the nation. They could be influential only in given districts where they had effective strength.

In this case, as in the case of fraudulent ballots, the superiority of the district approach rests in its power to limit the impact of eccentric voting patterns. Division of the system into constituencies has a sealing-off effect, like a fire wall, when political problems break out. This chambering action, as James Madison noted, is one of the great virtues of the federal approach; it prevents a contagion in one place from exerting its influence everywhere else.

"The influence of factious leaders," Madison noted, "may kindle a flame within their particular states, but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other states." Political aberrations, he said, "will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the union than a particular member of it; in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular county or district than an entire state."

The district plan provides new fire walls for our system by insuring that eccentric developments can exert their influence only in the locality where they occur. The popular vote approach not only fails to add any new fire walls, but takes away those we already have. Better to keep the existing plan than adopt the national plebiscite. Better to vote by districts.

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HUBERT HUMPHREY, who wants desperately to run for the Senate next year, is now under pressure to seek the governorship. Leading Minnesota Democrats are telling the former veep that only he can capture the GOP-occupied statehouse, but Humphrey is unlikely to bite. As one Democratic official explained: "Labor wants him back in the Senate."

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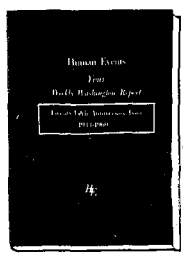

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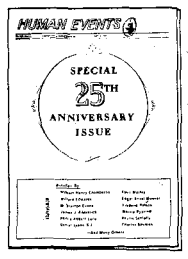

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Sex Education in Schools Becomes a Nationwide Issue

By RUSSELL KIRK

In nearly every state this year, boards of education, legislatures, public school teachers and parents are perplexed by controversies about whether public schools should offer instruction in the mysteries of sex—and, if so, how. This controversy has been hottest in California, and your servant attended the final hearings, this spring, of California's State Board of Education on this topic.

The guidelines adopted by California's State Board ought to be useful elsewhere

Author Russell Kirk notes that the California rules should be useful to other states.

in this country, and so I summarize them below. California's Constitution prescribes that the public schools work for moral improvement, and the board believes instruction in family life and health education to be a part of that improvement—including prudent instruction in sexual matters. As the board points out, much misunderstanding of the nature and powers of sex exists in our time. What can the public schools do about this?

"The primary responsibility for sex education is that of the home," the California Board of Education resolves. "However, the school, along with the church, has a secondary role in supporting and supplementing the home's responsibility."

Instruction concerning sex should be conducted, say the Californian guidelines, "by a team of qualified instructors, including professionals who have shown an aptitude for working with young people and who have received special training; and utilizing physicians as recommended by local medical societies as consultants, advisers and resource persons."

All materials in such courses should be studied by a citizens' committee, the board recommends—such committees to consist of doctors, nurses, school administrators, representatives of parent groups, clergymen, representatives of police and the like.

Such programs should be voluntary, not mandatory.

There should be no deprecation in such courses of religious beliefs or of parental teachings; moral values and the family should be emphasized.

Instruction about human reproduction should not be presented to children less than nine years old.

Parents should be made acquainted with materials used in the classroom and for instruction at home; they should participate in re-evaluation of such materials.

Evaluation of such programs should be continuous, and local successful programs should be studied.

Finally, the California Board of Education declares that "sex education" materials from the Sex Information Council of the United States (SIECUS) should be eliminated from public schools.

This last recommendation will be of interest in most states; and this commentator heartily concurs with the California board. SIECUS is a kooky outfit; and despite its imposing name it has no connection whatever with the federal government, nor any subsidy from public funds. For the most part, SIECUS is an offshoot of a little eccentric group called the American Humanist Association—not to be confused with the great humanists of the Renaissance.

So unless you court trouble with parents, dear school administrator, give the SIECUS materials short shrift. SIECUS tries to impart a "new morality" that would be anathema to the great majority of parents and responsible citizens in any community.

In this nation, some 13 states already have programs of moral instruction in their public schools, or will commence such programs soon. Our times being what they are, doubtless nearly every state will find it necessary to teach moral normality in its schools, before long.

In Michigan, the treasurer of the State Board of Education, James F. O'Neil, declares that Ira Polley, the state superintendent of public instruction, arbitrarily prescribes "shocking and appalling" materials and courses in sex for small children. Indeed, Polley is one of the more high-handed and less gifted of public school administrators. The hotter water such bureaucrats get themselves into, the more likely we are to improve the teaching of public morality, including sexual relationships.

If "sex education" is taught in the abstract, it becomes merely a "do-it-yourself" course, working more mischief than good, especially among the young. One cannot teach anything important about sex without teaching about love; and one cannot teach effectively about love without reference to the first principles of human nature.

True teaching about sexual questions may serve to redeem our young people from the gross commercialization of the sexual impulse, and from other errors. But such a program must be part of the more general instruction. *It is better to move slowly in such* concerns than to rush into some alleged educational panacea that, in fact, will only shock and antagonize both children and parents—and hideously embarrass public school teachers.

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WALLACEITES IN NEW JERSEY— The pro-Wallace Independent Party of New Jersey has selected a candidate for this fall's heated gubernatorial election, lumber magnate James Johnson. Johnson will be the first supporter of George Wallace to run statewide since the former Alabama governor racked up 12 per cent of the national vote in last year's presidential election. The Jersey third party has also vowed to enter candidates in every one of the 8 state assembly races to be contested this fall.

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Although Treasury Secretary David Kennedy (right, with Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McC. Martin) has hinted at wage-price controls, the chances are slim that the Nixon Administration will resort to them.

Nixon's Economic Strategy

By VICTOR RIESEL

Now the hysteria can simmer down. There is no more chance that President Nixon will *ever* seek a wage-price freeze than there is of Hades icing over—barring a world war. That's certain, absolute and positive.

Fact is, that one of Mr. Nixon's truly weighty advisers said, soon after he heard Secretary of the Treasury David Kennedy urge wage-price controls as a possible anti-inflation weapon, "that man has foot-in-mouth disease. . . .furthermore, Mr. Nixon and Paul McCracken [chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers] have not spent 10 minutes seriously considering such ceilings since the day the Administration *took office*."

After conversations with White House intimates of the President, it is accurate to reflect Mr. Nixon's policy and philosophy as follows:

The President is a careful driver. He doesn't jam on the brakes while his vehicle is speeding over ice, thick or thin. He'll do nothing dramatic or startling—and that's dramatic news in itself. The pressure will be gradual.

Mr. Nixon well knows that swift pumping of the employed into a huge pool of jobless would throw the nation's ghettos into raw and brutal depression.

Unhappily, there will be more unemployment—at least another 500,000 to 600,000 by next October. But that's unavoidable. Mostly, unemployment will hit white-collar people, technicians and middle-class workers. By the end of October the total joblessness will be inching past the 3.2-million mark.

There will be an outcry. Prices will be rising. Money will still be tight. Imports will be deluging the country. "Things" will be bad—and noisy.

The opposition will have a propaganda field day. The Democrats will thunder. The liberals will assault. The intellectuals of our world will unite and fight. Labor will protest. But by next spring—just about a year from now—the White House expects "it" will all level off. And by the end of 1970 Mr. Nixon expects the nation to be back to full prosperity under stable prices.

He does not believe there will be a recession. He is positive there'll be no depression. As one of his aides put it, "there's nothing like gradual gradualism."

To attempt wage-price controls now would thrust Richard Nixon into the role of Britain's Labourite Prime Minister Harold Wilson. Her Majesty's eloquent first minister has tried this. He finds that even the awe of the government's power can't control shop stewards, much less the unions themselves.

Mr. Nixon, for example, hardly sees himself dueling with local building and construction trades business agents and local officials. Wage-price controls would force him and his Cabinet's key men into just that Quixotic posture.

In the District of Columbia itself, the President can see "skyscrapers" standing gaunt and skeletonized by a carpenters' strike which started May 1. Excavation work has been paralyzed on the FBI's new headquarters site. The Southwest Freeway is stalled. Construction on at least seven other large buildings and one plaza is crippled. The carpenters demand a wage-benefit package of $3 an hour over a three-year contract—or, on a 40-hour base, a $120 hike per week per man after the second year.

In eastern Massachusetts brother carpenters struck for $126 increase per man per week over a two-year pact.

In Wilmington, Del., millwrights have been striking for a $228 weekly wage increase per man per week over a two-year contract (a rate which would start after the first year).

In Wyoming, iron workers have struck for $164.80 weekly increase per man per week over a two-year compact.

And yet there are observers who've said that Mr. Nixon would not face a major stike threat until 1970 or 1971. Well, there now are 200,000 craftsmen out on strike. That's mighty major. Especially since the $99-billion building and construction field is the nation's largest homogeneous industry.

These demands and stoppages don't insinuate that all construction union chiefs or local leaders won't cooperate with the government or contractors. It does mean that there are some mighty tough local men in some mighty strategic positions. And they're not about to be argued out of anything.

So in addition to President Nixon's distaste for wage-price federal controls, and for the machinery for policing any such legislation, Mr. Nixon just doesn't see himself and his aides going into battle on a thousand fronts.

One White House colleague summed it all up simply with, "There's zero chance for controls, wage-price or anything like that. We're just going to continue doing what we're doing."

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Finch Criticized

Welfare Ruling Stirs Alarm

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Congress is just waking up to the potentially devastating effects of the Supreme Court's 6-to-3 ruling of April 21 which invalidated one-year residence requirements for welfare assistance in two states and the District of Columbia.

The 40 other states which have such requirements have since been put on notice by Robert H. Finch, secretary of health, education and welfare, that they must abolish them immediately.

The immediate result—a minimum increase of $175 million in welfare costs and the possibility of mass migration to the states with the highest benefits—caused consternation. Subsequent study has revealed greater dangers.

Even Chief Justice Earl Warren, soon to retire after 16 years of service in

Many feel HEW Secretary Robert Finch is going too far by telling all states to abolish welfare residency requirements.

which he was not often alarmed about the portent of his court's repeated intrusions into the legislative field, voiced his uneasiness. In one of his rare dissents, he labeled the majority opinion as revealing "only the top of the iceberg."

"Lurking beneath," he concluded, "are the multitude of situations in which states have imposed residence requirements, including eligibility to vote, to engage in certain professions or occupations, or to attend a state-supported university. Although the court takes pains to avoid acknowledging the ramifications of its decisions, its implications cannot be ignored."

The concealed iceberg is indeed massive and hazardous, according to a legal study now under scrutiny by Senate leaders concerned with the long-range effect of the court ruling.

It could lead, the study predicts, to future court decisions which would require HEW to enact rules requiring schools to implement forced busing to overcome racial imbalance on penalty of the loss of federal funds, although Congress forbade use of federal funds for student busing.

An even more controversial possibility is suggested:

"If Secretary Finch's rationale of carrying out Supreme Court determinations, in cases where he is not a party, is valid, then he can withhold federal funds from schools which still conduct prayers in classes, even though the congressional authority under which he acts does not impose such a requirement!"

Finch is criticized in the legal study for rushing to declare an end to welfare residence requirements, although he is directed in each of the federally funded cash public welfare congressional enactments not to disapprove plans by states because they include such requirements.

The High Court did not declare these congressional acts unconstitutional, and neither the secretary nor the HEW department was a party to the three suits—in Connecticut, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia—which brought on the Supreme Court decision.

Some states, which have publicly and officially taken the position that they are not bound by the Supreme Court decision, asked Finch to delay his new regulations. He ignored these protests.

"Secretary Finch has no authority to be the 'enforcer' for the Supreme Court by requiring the states, contrary to a congressional directive, to do anything the Supreme Court may order them to do on penalty of loss of federal funds," the study opined. "He should not volunteer to enforce Supreme Court decisions without congressional authority to do so.

"Even if HEW could be the policeman for the Supreme Court, it should limit its 'enforcing' activities to the affected parties and not broaden the decision to apply to all states."

States will probably be afraid not to comply with the new HEW rules. They do not become final until July 1, and some senators are contemplating action to stop their adoption.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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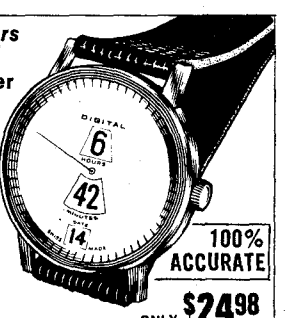

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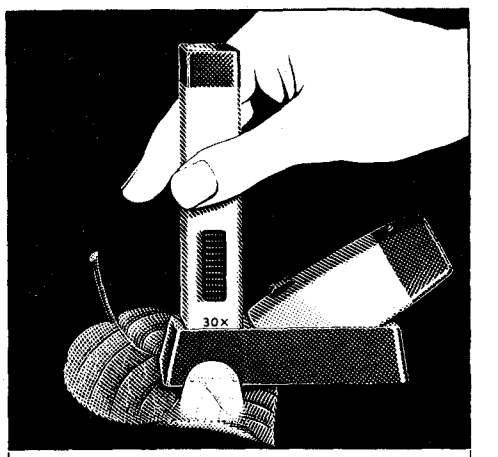

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IFCO's Demands on the Churches

A New Name for the Same Game: Blackmail

By JOHN C. WATSON

While the mass news media and church organizations have given wide coverage and consideration to the demands by black militants for $500 million, little notice has been given to the concurrent disclosures of a Los Angeles police investigator that the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) of New York City has already donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to revolutionaries throughout the nation.

Churchgoers across the nation who are being asked to meet the outlandish demands of an elite, militant group led by James Forman and calling themselves the National Black Economic Development Conference, should be made aware that IFCO is the parent organization of NBEDC. In fact, if religious leaders want to pay the $500 million "reparation" demanded for the injustices suffered by black people, they have been told by Rev. Lucius Walker, IFCO executive director, to "make the check out to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, Inc."

Actually, IFCO was founded and bankrolled two years ago by 10 major church denominations, in what has proved to be an effective use of "fronts" to conceal Christian funding to militants.

IFCO's charter members include the executive council of the Episcopal church; Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian church; Board of Missions of the Methodist church; general board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist church; Board Homeland Ministries of the Church of Christ; American Baptist Home Missions society; American Jewish Committee; Catholic Committee for Urban Ministry; National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; and the Foundation for Voluntary Service (six of these member organizations are also active members of the National Council of Churches.)

John C. Watson is the pen name of a West Coast expert on internal security matters.

Sgt. Robert Thoms of the Los Angeles police intelligence division told the International Security Conference meeting in Chicago recently that "83 per cent of IFCO's funds have gone to support community groups involved in militant or disruptive activities such as picketing, 'Black Power' rallies, demands on schools and school boards, unions and support of the Black Panthers."

For example, IFCO gave $285,555.34 to the Foundation for Community Development in Durham, N.C., which is a coalition of civil rights organizations teaching Negroes the art of agitation. One member organization, the United Organization for Community Improvement, is primarily involved in staging demonstrations in the Durham area. A portion of the grant, $189,742, came from the Ford Foundation but was channeled through IFCO at the request of the Durham agency.

The National Welfare Rights Organization in Washington, D.C., received $137,212 from IFCO. This is the group responsible for organizing the welfare rights march in the Nation's Capital, and for numerous demonstrations and confrontations with welfare administrators in other cities. In Los Angeles they threatened to tie up the welfare administration with court litigation unless demands for additional welfare benefits were met.

NWRO official George A. Wiley told a Washington rally of dissatisfied welfare recipients last year that "if this country does not listen to the poor people after what happened in Detroit and Newark and New Haven, you haven't seen nothing yet." Mr. Wiley is also a member of IFCO's board of directors.

The Rev. Albert Cleague Jr., pastor of Detroit's Central United Church of Christ, has been a member of IFCO's board of directors from its inception. Recognized as one of the militant "Black Power" leaders of Detroit and a vociferous foe of the Detroit Police Department, he is an ex-Muslim and was a close associate of the late Malcolm X. He is active in the Republic of New Africa movement which believes in a separate nation within the United States run by blacks.

Cleague's church has been the scene of numerous "Black Power" rallies with such speakers as H. Rap Brown and Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) leader Milton Henry. A "People's Tribunal," a mock trial against law enforcement officers, was also conducted in Cleague's church. In December 1967 IFCO announced its first $85,000 no-strings-attached gift to the City-Wide Citizens Action Committee founded and directed by the Rev. Albert Cleague.

Black Panthers in Jersey City, N.J., have benefited from IFCO's $63,841 grant to the Community Improvement Alliance of that city. The Alliance maintains a center which also conveniently serves as headquarters for the Black Panthers. Some of the Panthers do double duty as officers in both organizations.

Last January two Black Panther leaders were murdered on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). Their five alleged slayers, all members of a rival black nationalist group called "US," made their escape from the murder scene in an automobile registered to the Black Congress.

IFCO has given the Black Congress $5,500 and its related Institute for Training and Program Development $19,170. According to IFCO, additional matching funds were given to the Black Congress

James Forman is head of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

by IFCO's member groups. The BC maintains a headquarters and a flee of automobiles for the use of its membe groups which have included: The Blac Panther party, Ron Karenga's "US," Los Angeles County Welfare Right Organization, the Police Malpractice Complaint Center, SNCC and CORE.

Walter Bremond, organizer and chairman of the Black Congress, is also a member of IFCO's board of directors. He and the militant, Swahili-speaking Karenga have played a leadership role at IFCO's national meetings. Shortly before the campus slayings, Bremond personally ordered the "get-away car" delivered to Karenga's US organization as a gift. (Karenga says "US" simply means "wherever we are US is.")

In the heat of the murders' aftermath, Bremond quit the BC and moved over to a new "front"—the presidency of the Los Angeles Brotherhood Crusade, which seeks donations of $3 million for the black community. He also maintains control of the IFCO-funded institute which he says is "conducting T-group sensitizing sessions for the clergymen and public school teachers."

Members of the Black Congress have participated in high school demonstrations, walk-outs, and "people's tribunals" against police officers. On one occasion, mass distribution of "wanted dead or alive" circulars picturing a Los Angeles police officer succeeded in recruiting an audience of 400 angry black persons to attend a mock trial at which the officer was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death.

In reviewing church support of militants, it's noteworthy that since Feb. 5, 1968, Bremond has been the paid assistant director of the Protestant Community Services Division of the Los Angeles Council of Churches. That agency's current $150,000 budget lists a contribution from the United Way, Inc., of $140,000.

Walter Bremond was the organizing chairman and the Black Congress the sponsor of a "Free Huey Newton" rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena on Feb. 18, 1968. The purpose of the rally was to provide a legal defense fund for Newton who was on trial, and subsequently convicted, for killing an Oakland policeman. Bremond was assisted by identified Communist Irving Sarnoff in securing an "all-star cast" of revolutionaries to speak: Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Bobby Seale, Reies Tijerina, Maulana (Ron) Karenga, and James Forman.

Now that Forman, who doubles as

Continued on page 14

Projects Funded by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization

September 1967-April 1969

CITY AND ORGANIZATION	TOTAL GRANT	AMOUNT PAID
Albany, Ga.—Southwest Georgia Project	5,000	5,000
Boston, Mass.—Operation Exodus	15,004	15,004
Camden, N.J.—Christian Center	2,000	2,000
Chester, Pa.—Home Improvement Project	56,209	34,973.19
Chicago, Ill.—Garfield Organization	20,000	20,000
Columbus, Ohio—East Central Area Council	24,565	21,065
Dayton, Ohio—FORCE	20,000	20,000
California Migrant Ministry	55,100	36,400
Detroit, Mich.—City-Wide Citizens Action Committee	85,000	85,000
Detroit, Mich.—West Central Organization	7,000	7,000
Durham, N.C.—Foundation for Community Development	285,555.34	285,555.34
Houston, Tex.—HOPE Development, Inc.	132,500	103,125
Jackson, Miss.—Poor People's Corporation	1,000	1,000
Jersey City, N.J.—Comm. Improvement Alliance	63,841	46,500
Jersey City, N.J.—Project Anti-Recidivism	500	500
Los Angeles, Calif.—Black Congress	5,800	5,500
Miami, Fla.—Liberty City Community Council	5,000	5,000
New Orleans, La.—Deep South Education & Research Association	10,000	10,000
New York, N.Y.—Project Communications Network	16,285	16,158
Newark, N.J.—National Campaign—Political Education	10,000	10,000
Newark, N.J.—Area Planning Association	2,000	2,000
Ottawa, Ohio—Farm Labor Organizing Committee	2,300	2,000
Peoria, Ill.—Afro-American Black People's Federation	3,000	3,000
Philadelphia, Pa.—Southern Action Centers	19,000	19,000
Richmond, Va.—Community Development Organization	2,000	2,000
St. Louis, Mo.—Mid-City Community Congress	3,000	3,000
Steubenville, Ohio—Comm. Organization Builds Absolute Teamwork (COMBAT!)	18,100	16,100
Syracuse, N.Y.—Organization of Organizations	5,000	5,000
Washington, D.C.—Capital East Foundation	86,375	52,291
Washington, D.C.—National Welfare Rights Organization	137,212	111,962
Rockford, Ill.—West Side Community Organization	15,500	2,500
Cleveland, Ohio—Superior Area Comm. Action Program	5,000	5,000
Atlanta, Ga.—CRISIS, Inc.	5,000	5,000
Louisville, Ky.—West End Community Council	5,000	2,000
Kansas City, Mo.—Welfare Rights Training Project	1,200	1,200
Rochester, N.Y.—Metro-Act	5,000	5,000
Nashville, Tenn.—Unitarian Black Caucus	4,000	4,000
Brooklyn, N.Y.—Fulton St. Unitarian Center	5,000	5,000
TRAINING GRANTS		
Chicago, Ill.—Organization for a Better Austin	6,400	1,900
Cleveland, Ohio—Poor People's Partnership	700	700
Columbus (Ohio) Steering Committee for Adequate Welfare Trainee	2,000	2,000
Durham, N.C.—Foundation for Community Development Trainee	1,182	1,182
Lexington, Ky.—Poor People's Council	2,000	2,000
Los Angeles, Calif.—Institute of Training and Program Dev.	19,170	19,170
IFCO—Citizens Crusade Against Poverty Training Conf.	2,031.85	2,031.85
Economic Development Conference—Mississippi	5,000	5,000
St. Petersburg, Fla.—Sanitation Workers	6,000	6,900
Conference on White Racism	3,267.30	3,267.30
American Indians United Conference	4,000	4,000
Black Unitarian Universalist Caucus	10,000	10,000
Consultation on the Black Church (Black Affairs Council of the Unitarian Universalist Church)	1,000	—
National Black Economic Development Conference	50,000	3,907
TOTALS:		
Organizational Grants	**$1,143,871.34**	**986,466.53**
Training Grants	**33,483.85**	**28,983.85**
Special Grants	**80,167.30**	**33,074.30**
	$1,257,522.49	**1,048,524.68**

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Continued from Page 8

Reds Make Fiasco of Rocky Trip

to President Nixon. Speaking before correspondents at the National Press Club on June 13, President Lleras extended Valdes' attack on private foreign investments. He contrived several examples of cases in which U.S. foreign investors in his country allegedly were milking the economy, but left out other examples in which U.S. investors were willing to put up millions of dollars of their stockholders' money to develop industries to produce for export and thus earn badly needed foreign exchange for Colombia.

President Lleras justified barter trade with the Soviet Union (without naming it, incidentally) by saying that it would take the money equivalent of 43 bags of Colombian coffee to purchase a U.S.-made jeep. What he did not say is that instead he bartered coffee for 100 Russian-made GAZ jeeps and five months later only 20 were still in service—the balance were junk—resulting in a net loss of an estimated $160,000 to the Colombian government.

President Lleras, contrary to the known facts regarding the constructive role of foreign private investments in pre-Castro Cuba, perverted those facts, claiming in his Press Club speech: "As the Cuban experience has shown, it is not possible to maintain a favorable climate towards foreign investment. . . ."

He then got to the heart of his message: "That is why, if possible, Colombia would prefer to obtain foreign capital in the form of loans rather than as a direct investment. . .direct foreign investment becomes a perpetual liability. . . ." Thus, the pleas of the government planner were added, the week of June 13, to the more belligerent message delivered to President Nixon by Chile's foreign minister.

The third event of importance was the formation of the Andean Pact—a limited economic union of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile. President Lleras is the principal architect and received the full support of Chile's President Frei and Foreign Minister Valdes. All but Bolivia are, in one way or another, involved in disputes, or are at swords-point with the United States over what boils down to capitalism versus socialism.

Moreover, President Lleras wields considerable influence within this group of nations, so his philosophy as expounded at the National Press Club is bound to be reflected within the Andean economic union, a union which may be the precursor to the fragmentation and eventual dissolution of the Organization of American States.

President Lleras has been playing off the Soviet and Soviet-bloc nations against the West for some time. He barters coffee and other products to Communist countries, even though such barter serves to undercut the parity price of coffee produced by his Latin neighbors.

Chile's President Frei has done more or less the same thing, adding Red China to the list of Communist countries to which he barters products. Fiercely anti-American Gen. Velasco of Peru has opened relations—trade and diplomatic—with the Communist nations, as has the aged and tottering president of Ecuador, José María Velasco Ibarra. President Siles of Bolivia will undoubtedly go along with the other nations of the Andean Pact (unless overthrown by Gen. Ovando).

The point is that these nations are formed together less by bonds of friendship and an undoubted need for economic union than they are by mutual dislike (even hatred) for the capitalist system. There is plenty of room here for the Russians to maneuver for political advantage—and they are doing so.

After President Lleras opened relations with the Soviet Union, the Soviets entered Colombia's International Trade Fair with a rush, bought up full sections of Bogotá's newspapers and filled them full of praise for the Soviet-Colombian barter accords and flattery for President Lleras.

Then they applied the crusher. Earlier, President Lleras had actually suggested that the Soviet Union be incorporated into the financial institutions of the Alliance for Progress (Chile even gave the Czechs copies of plans for Chilean development to be funded with Alliance funds), so this question was broached to Soviet "economists" who attended the Trade Fair.

The Aug. 6, 1968, edition of *El Tiempo* carried the headline "Soviet Bloc Will Give Support" and the sub-head "Commercial Delegates to the VII International Fair of Bogotá from Socialist countries said they are willing to extend economic collaboration to the plans for Andean integration, always provided [the Andean countries] are politically neutral."

This is a bold attempt by the Soviet bloc to undercut the Organization of American States. It also indicates that President Lleras has a great deal of power, through the Andean organization, to help them do so.

With Chile and Peru already on an anti-American course, it is at least conceivable that President Lleras will use his power to the ends expressed in his Press Club speech—namely, toward socialism. Whether he would go so far as to invite the Russians into a controlling position in Latin America that would wreck the OAS may not be in the cards at all.

But those who know Colombia well also believe that Dr. Rodrigo Botero Montoya, President Lleras' economic aide and confidant, fits the description written of a Soviet infiltrator who got President Charles de Gaulle's ear in Leon Uris' *Topaz*.

The point to all this—the Castroite riots, the Valdes "manifesto," the Lleras speech at the Press Club and the formation of the Andean Pact—is that there is very little that the much-ballyhooed Rockefeller mission can do about them.

Yet they are the most important developments in Latin America today. Indeed, the delicate situation in Latin America would seem to call for discreet—even secret—bilateral discussions between the United States and individual states to the south of us—a form of diplomacy that would avoid triggering the revolutionary mobs and the unfortunate publicity that follows. Such diplomacy would also be more difficult for demagogues like Lleras and other Socialist-minded leaders to exploit.

The Rockefeller circus, unfortunately, fits neatly into the plans of Presidents Lleras, Velasco, Frei and others who use the rioting as an excuse to press for large gobs of government-to-government aid and an end to "imperialist" private investments.

Whatever the final outcome of Rockefeller's good will journey, this much is certain: President Nixon would be well advised to use any power he can muster to neutralize these anti-American, anti-capitalist maneuverings. He might start by giving Galo Plaza—the man who sold him on the Rockefeller trip in the first place—a swift kick in the pants, and follow by taking a long, hard look at his own advisers.

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—From **Christian Economics**

THE STRANGE WORLD OF IVAN IVANOV by G. Warren Nutter (World, 144 pages, $5)

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"Nutter's book, which originated in a series of articles commissioned by the 'Philadelphia Inquirer,' can be read in the short time required to view the late-late show. Since it provides most of the basic knowledge needed by the educated American about the USSR, and since Nutter has also accomplished the unique feat of writing a readable book on the USSR, this substitution is strongly recommended. . . ."—By Stefan T. Possony in **National Review**

WAR, PEACE AND THE VIET CONG by Douglas Pike (M. I. T. Press, 186 pages, $5.95)

". . . Mr. Pike's new book is about the current internal difficulties of the other side, and comes both on good recommendation and an appropriate moment. Mr. Pike is a government expert on Viet Nam, and author of the massive and well-received 1966 study, 'Viet Cong.' . . .

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Continued from Page 12

New Name for the Same Game: Blackmail

director of both the international affairs for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC) is demanding reparations from "white racist churches," let's review his rally speech of a year ago.

He announced that SNCC and the Black Panthers had a "mutual defense pact and if you assassinated any of these black leaders, you must be prepared for instant and protractive retributions. We are talking about selective, directive, protractive retributions on police stations, on fire stations, on power plants, on war factories. . .all over this country."

Fourteen months later Forman's "Manifesto" is replete with passages straight from the lips of the radical prophets of power—for power's sake—and democracy be damned!

Forman speaking for NBEDC sees total control of the state by blacks as the only solution to the economic problems faced by blacks. The blacks he has in mind are his fellow comrades-in-arms who have openly contributed to the widespread havoc, violence and rioting within this country.

In his speech before the General Board meeting of the National Council of Churches in New York City, May 2, 1969, he said, "We live inside the United States, which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to bring the government down. . . . no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer. . . .

"But while we talk of revolution which *will be an armed* confrontation and long years of sustained guerrilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the State for the welfare of all the people."

Forman is specific about his ideal State: "We have an ideology. Our fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism and we are dedicated to building a Socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks. . . . We say think in terms of *total control* of the United States, prepare ourselves to seize State Power."

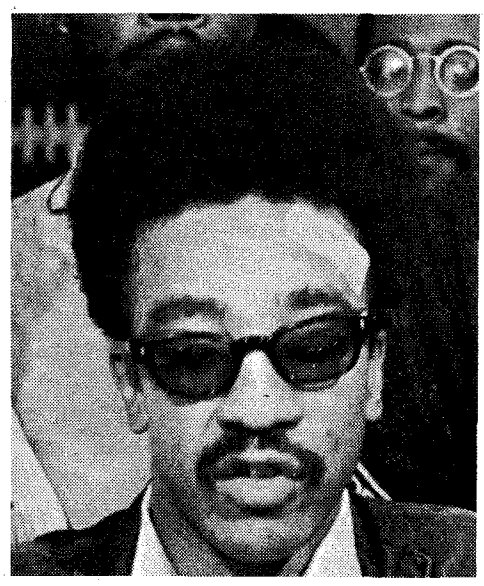
To emphasize the dedication and drive required of the church groups to whom he was speaking, Forman states, "Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the United States. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people.

"We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. We must begin seizing power wherever we are and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want to go. . . We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this."

The demands enumerated in the Manifesto had been carefully weighed for the power they could extort:

- $200 million to form a Southern Land Bank for destitute farmers.
- $ 40 million to establish publishing houses in New York, Atlanta, Detroit and Los Angeles.
- $ 40 million for four cable TV networks in Detroit, Washington, D.C., Chicago and New York.
- $ 10 million for a community training center which would be for the people of Africa as well as "Afro-Americans."
- $ 10 million to the National Welfare Rights Organization.
- $ 20 million for a labor strike and defense fund.
- $ 30 million for a research center to develop skills of black people.
- $130 million for a black university to be built in the South.
- $ 20 million for establishing co-operatives in the United States and Africa.

This lengthy Manifesto attacked black capitalism together with United States and European capitalism, stating that Negroes in the United States would in the future take an active role in fighting "racist neo-colonialism, imperialism and oppression." The Manifesto also directly attacked the Christian church and Jewish synagogues as institutions, and that if the money were not paid, religious property would be seized, and various actions taken against churches and temples.



One of the featured speakers of the IFCO is "Black Power" militant H. Rap Brown.

After the heated harangue denouncing democracy and the United States, the declaration of intent to overthrow the government and the proclamation of warning to this country's religious institutions, it is difficult to conceive that any group or board of sane and prudent Americans would even consider this mad dialogue, much less finance it.

Yet, in a few short weeks Forman and his demanding Manifesto have been favorably received by the controlling hierachy of the National Council of Churches, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches.

In San Antonio, Tex., before the 181st Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of the United States, Forman was joined in his demands by Eliezer Risco, editor of the Los Angeles underground newspaper, *La Raza*. Risco is currently under a felony-conspiracy indictment by the Grand Jury of Los Angeles for his alleged participation or contribution to that city's school walkouts and boycotts.

This union between Forman and Risco serves to emphasize the coalition between radical elements of the black and brown communities—"our being together speaks for our unity and it can be a force for success." Both were greeted politely and enthusiastically by the assemblage.

Dr. William Phelps Thompson, speaking for the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., stated that "Forman's demands would be taken seriously. . . . it is unlikely that the demands will be rejected flatly." Presbyterian leaders subsequently voted $50 million for use in depressed areas for deprived people and to give IFCO $100,000. Similar echoes of support were forthcoming from American Baptists, who, incidentally, had given IFCO an "unrestricted $200,000" to spend in 1968.

After winning the endorsement of the National Committee of Black Churchmen in Atlanta, Forman was praised by them as a "modern-day prophet" and they warned the white churches that "it is too late to call for propriety and moderation." The United Methodist Church Board of Missions voted to give $300,000, which Forman promptly labeled "totally unacceptable." He had demanded $750,000.

Bishop Stephen Bayne, first vice president of the Episcopal Church, supported Forman's position by saying "I welcome the Manifesto because any sinful man, black or white or any other color, needs to be confronted with a demand for justice." IFCO, which gave birth to this baby, promised its fledgling (NBEDC) "$270,000 as seed money," and gave it a pat on the back by ratifying its goals in their "programmatic aspects"; thereby leaving it up to the "white racist" churches to pay up or face violence.

Why Wasn't CORE's Roy Innis Charged with Attempted Extortion?

First, the churches and now, the banks. What will be next? Specific businesses and industries? The U.S. Treasury itself?

Why wasn't Roy Innis, executive secretary of the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), arrested for attempted extortion on June 10? That was the day the American Bankers Association and the National Bankers Association, a Negro bankers group, were about to open a conference on urban problems in Chicago when Innis and 15 CORE members barged in and interrupted the proceedings.

After a hastily arranged conference between about 100 black bankers and the CORE group, it was announced that Innis would be permitted to address the bankers when they assembled for lunch.

At the luncheon the CORE leader demanded that the nation's banks hand over soon—this summer—$6 billion to Negro financial institutions—or else who can say what might happen?

Although Innis denied making threats, the message he gave to the banking industry clearly belied it. "We have two kinds of operations," he said. "We operate either in the streets or on the drawing board. We would prefer to operate on the drawing board."

Translation: Kick in with the money or we'll tear the cities apart.

The dictionary defines extortion as "the act or practice of extorting"; that is, of obtaining money from a person by violence or threats. In this instance, the money is not being demanded of a single person, but the entire U.S. banking industry, nor is the threat of violence being leveled at a specific individual, but the American cities in general.

Doesn't the law also protect corporate entities and whole industries? And do our cities have no redress against threats to destroy them?

Why shouldn't Roy Innis be arrested for attempted extortion and his fellow conspirators charged with being accessories after the fact?

—ROY COLBY

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Older Americans Act

By REP. EARL LANDGREBE (R.-Ind.)

I wish to explain my reasons for opposing HR 11235, the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1969.

While I fully agree with and support the proposition that the older people of our nation are entitled to every opportunity for a full and meaningful life, I feel that this legislation is both wasteful and unresponsive to the real needs and welfare of our older citizens. . .

From the mail that has come from the senior citizens of my district, their primary concern is the rising cost of living—of food and rent and the increasing inflationary spiral which is destroying their purchasing power, particularly those who are attempting to live on a fixed or limited income. They are also concerned, as I am, with the increasing costs of the Viet Nam war in terms of lives and money resulting from our no-win policy.

Two weeks ago I received petitions signed by 250 people in my district who are seeking my help and assistance to increase Social Security benefits. Their concerns are with the daily rising costs for the basic necessities of life, and not with the Older Americans Act which, I understand, would provide such services as free dancing lessons and bus rides to the zoo.

They are concerned also with the government's policy of deficit spending, which, in my opinion, is one of the most significant factors in creating and continuing the inflation which we are experiencing.

I believe that the most important step we can take as members of Congress to aid and assist our older citizens is to bring to the conduct of government measures of fiscal responsibility and soundness that will improve the economic conditions of our society to such an extent that our older citizens will be able to enjoy lives which are full, healthy and active and carefree. Increasing and expanding government programs and deficit spending will not accomplish that objective. I firmly believe we will never accomplish it until we end the Viet Nam war, committing to that task whatever resources it will take. Then we will be able to restore to our economy and domestic scene conditions of economic progress and stability that will permit Americans of all ages increased opportunity for fuller and richer lives. . . .

Defense Costs

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

In cutting the military budget (and cut it we must) a few facts ought to be borne in mind. First, we should never forget that military preparedness has never gotten the United States into war, while lack of it has. We should be wary of those who misuse statistics. It is not true as they allege that defense is taking an increasing share of our national output. This year the defense budget is 8.8 per cent of total U.S. goods and services. In 1960 it was 8.7 per cent. Except for Viet Nam, the current national defense budget would be $49 billion. This represents less actual buying power for defense needs than in 1960. If we were to reduce our armed forces to the pre-Korean War level of 2.6 million men, the defense budget would be $36 billion without allowing a single penny for ammunition, weapons, or hardware. If, as some propose, we would raise military salaries in the lower enlisted ranks by $100 per man per month and improve fringe benefits to attract an all-volunteer military service, defense costs would be just as high as they are today except for Viet Nam—and this budget would still be without a single penny for ammunition, weapons, or hardware. These figures clearly indicate that the issue isn't quite as simple as some would have us believe. Like the man who was lost in a crashing thunderstorm pleaded in his prayer, "We need more light and a little less noise."

Deploy Safeguard

By REP. JOHN HAPPY CAMP (R.-Okla.)

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird has assured us that we have sufficient strength today in the combination of our strategic forces—our missiles, bombers, and Polaris capability—to respond to any attack that might be launched against the United States. This is reassuring to all of us, and it is now up to Congress to maintain that strength and provide ample protection for our strategic forces—the ABM Safeguard system.

Relying on retaliatory measures is not the answer, as the Russians are proceeding with development of an effective anti-missile system. With an all-out first strike and a shield at home against U.S. missiles, the Russians could absorb U.S. retaliatory efforts with little damage.

The proposed Safeguard system is a defensive system, not an offensive system. It is designed to show the Russians that we are serious about protecting our deterrent forces—to show our enemies that they cannot achieve an effective first strike against the United States. It will show them that we are not increasing our nuclear arsenal for a low-risk attack on them and that it would be worthwhile to proceed with negotiations on limiting strategic arms.

Defense of our country deserves the highest priority. How can we justify not deploying the Safeguard?

Let us get proponent and opponent together. Let us turn criticism into constructionism.

Let us turn our efforts toward protection of our American way of life to insure that our children and our grandchildren will look back upon what we did and say that above all, we put our consideration for America's security first.

□□□

D.C. RIOTING—A final accounting on the loss inflicted by the April rioting in Washington last year reveals a total far higher than the original estimates. The new study, directed by the National Capital Planning Commission, along with the District government and the D.C. Redevelopment Agency, shows that disruption in commerce as a result of the riots caused a loss of 4,916 jobs and a $32.8-million loss to stocks and equipment (some 1,352 businesses were looted, burned or damaged), bringing the total cost from the disturbance in business and building damage to $57.8 million.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The House Ways and Means Committee has approved its version of the Nixon **Administration's tax proposals,** aimed at slowing inflation. The tax package, soon to come before the House, contains these provisions: 1) Continuation of the income tax surcharge at 10 per cent until December 31, when it would continue at 5 per cent until June 30, 1970; 2) Repeal of the 7 per cent tax credit businesses could previously deduct when they invested in new facilities or equipment; 3) Removal of families earning less than $3,000 per year from the tax rolls; 4) Continuation of excise taxes on automobiles and telephones for one more year. Officials estimate the committee's bill will produce an additional $9.1 billion in tax revenues, beginning July 1, 1970.

• Something to think about while you are watching the moon landing next month: The House has just passed and sent to the Senate the **fiscal 1970 authorization for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.** NASA's price tag is $3.9 billion, with $1.7 billion of this going to the Apollo moon-shot program.

• The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures is considering at least nine **major anti-crime bills.** Two of these have the support of President Nixon. One (S 30), introduced by subcommittee Chairman John McClellan (D.-Ark.), would permit reorganization of the federal grand jury system, authorize judges to grant immunity to witnesses fearful of self-incrimination, create stronger penalties for falsely testifying under oath and establish new penalties for convicted "habitual" organized crime leaders. A bill (S 2022) sponsored by Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), and proposed by President Nixon in an April speech, would expand federal forces to further assist the states in combatting illegal gambling activities.

• The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Agriculture now has before it the touchy **issue of limiting individual farm subsidy payments.** A $20,000 ceiling was tacked onto the agriculture appropriations bill (HR 1162) by House Republicans. Last year the Senate's powerful farm bloc (including subcommittee Chairman Spessard Holland, of Florida) defeated a similar House-passed provision. Nixon's agriculture secretary, Clifford Hardin, has also opposed the ceiling proviso, claiming that the Administration's own farm program, due soon, will contain some form of subsidy limitation.

• After the White House had worked out a ceiling with the House, limiting Administration spending to the exact amount of its proposed fiscal 1970 budget, the Senate approved a spending ceiling $5 billion below the Administration's budget figure. The Senate has voted a $187.9-billion ceiling, compared with the $192.9-billion figure passed by the House and determined by the Administration. However, the Senate measure contains exceptions (including Viet Nam costs, interest on the debt and welfare payments), while the House version did not. Differences must be worked out in conference.

• The Administration's Nixon-Blount plan for **revamping the archaic Post Office system** (HR 11750) is now before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, sometimes called the postal worker's "home away from home." The President's plan to establish a government-owned corporation to run the postal service is expected to get a good hearing, even though most members appear opposed to the corporation idea. Most appealing is that the corporation, although eligible for a public service subsidy, would have the opportunity to support itself through the fixing of postal rates and service charges.

• Upon first reading of the **Administration's foreign aid proposals** (HR 11792), House Foreign Affairs Committee members said it was "the same old stuff." However, while the President has requested an aid outlay of $2.6 billion, he has also proposed creation of a privately run Overseas Private Investment Corporation, designed to stimulate business investments in developing nations, and establishment of a Technical Assistance Bureau to channel nuts-and-bolts technological assistance overseas.

• The White House has spoken on **East-West trade** and the result has been a diminution of liberal hopes for easing trade restrictions with Communist nations. Instead of permitting more non-military goods to be traded, President Nixon has asked for re-enactment of the 20-year-old Export Control Act (S 813, HR 4293) until 1973. The Nixon position is expected to be approved, even though a Senate subcommittee has approved steps to relax controls on the number and types of items that can be sent to Red-controlled countries.

• Senate liberals are maneuvering to **repeal a freeze on the number of participants in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare program.** After great controversy, the freeze was passed in 1967 and was scheduled to go into effect this July 1. The repeal has been added by liberals on the Senate Finance Committee as a rider on a bill (HR 8644) granting a permanent suspension of the duty on crude chicory roots. If the repeal is successful, between 100,000 and 200,000 new families will be eligible for AFDC aid.

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